THE

TANJORE MAHRATTA PRINCIPALITY

IN

SOUTHERN INDIA:

THE LAND OF THE CHOLA;

THE EDEN OF THE SOUTH.

BY

WILLIAM HICKEY,

PLEADER, MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

"No eye could be too sound
To observe a world so vast,
No patience too profound
To sort what's here amass'd;
How man may here best live no care too great to explore.
" But we—as some rude guest
Would change, where'er he roam
The manners there profess'd;
To those he brings from home—
We mark not the world's course, but would have it take ours."

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

SECOND EDITION.

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TO

THE NATIVE PRINCES OF INDIA

THIS WORK

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

'Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days', says the Writing.* So may it be said of the mental labours of a man. It was with diffidence that I presented to the public my first literary effort, my maiden attempt at Authorship. At its acceptance, if I have been flattered I may well be excused. I am still young. But, I am in a great degree thankful for the kind manner in which the first impression of the 'Tanjore Mahratta Principality has been received.' I appear again, and place before the public a Second Edition of the work 'on request.' I have laboured under many difficulties and would wish to have made myself more useful to a cause, which I have reason to believe, is in every point of view, just.

With a sprinkling of fresh matter here and there, I have added on another chapter; the purpose and object of which, are apparent.

Before closing this paper, I hope, I may not be considered cantankerous, should I make a few cursory remarks on some periodicals, that have been kind enough to honour me with a corner, and a notice in their papers. I have the profoundest respect for them, and if I do assume the attitude of a critic, it is not in a spirit of retaliation, but of justification and self-defence. Should I be corrected

* Eccl. Ch. XI. v. 1.

or justly reproved, I shall accept both, as lessons for future guidance and advantage. The *Indian Statesman*, when noticing my first paper, makes these observations which I take the liberty of quoting :—

'Without expressing any opinion as to the rights of the present princess, we must say, we do not think the writer's arguments are very convincing, and the view taken of the question is decidedly a one-sided one. The annexation of Tanjore was an insignificant affair beside that of Nagpore or Sattara, and was never hesitated about at the time, and the author's hopes of arousing the sympathies of the public on the subject, are, we fear, not likely to be fulfilled.'

I would have been much indebted to the writer of the above passage, if he had given me the *other side* of the question. Probably then, he and I would not have to break lances on the subject under discussion. But I believe in the doctrine of Optimism. It is gratifying to me to think, however, that my arguments, defective as they may be considered, are 'convincing,' though apparently not superlatively so· I regret to find that the same writer had not studied up the *whole facts* of the Tanjore annexation case, before he committed himself to paper, especially in a periodical honorably known, of indubitable erudition and of wide circulation.

I quote the following passage for the writer's benefit from Evans Bell* :—

'There is the true Dalhousie touch in the statement, that *no objection was raised at the time* to the discontinuance of the titles of the Raja of Tanjore, and of the Nawab of the Carnatic—a mild, modest, inexplicit statement, which averts discussion, and assumes the entire question, but which is totally contrary to the fact. No objection was made at the time! No objection to the extinction of the Carnatic Principality was made by

* The Empire in India, 1864.

the Prince Azeem Jah, the late Nawab's uncle and heir, who up to this day has refused to touch the stipend allotted to him, and still maintains his claim! No objection to the extinction of the Tanjore Raj was made by the Ranees, who are still carrying on an expensive agitation in England. No case, we suppose, of Kamachee Bayee *versus* the East India Company was ever tried at Madras, and decided in the Ranee's favor, and afterwards on appeal elicited the sarcastic and indignant comments of the Judges of the Privy Council! Of course, these 'objections' quite escaped the reviewer's observation 'at the time', or his memory subsequently. But were no objections made by the Public Press? The Tanjore and Carnatic spoliations excited, it is true, little interest either in Calcutta or Bombay; but, with the exception of the *Friend of India*, which, in those days, was ever ready to support Lord Dalhousie with a *little epigrammatic sophistry*, I do not remember that a single journal attempted to defend those *shameless confiscations ;* while the press of Madras denounced them with an unanimity most creditable to it, and a cogency of argument that left no room for reply. The *Madras Athenæum*, in particular contained a series of most able articles on these flagrant infractions of our treaty obligations. But the *Calcutta Reviewer* would have us to understand that 'no objection was made at the time ;' and the statement is so indefinite, so seemingly innocent and candid, that hundreds of general readers will accept it as fair and truthful as Lord Dalhousie's assertion, in the farewell minute glorifying his own administration, that the widows of the late Rajah of Nagpore had "*themselves admitted*" that no son was adopted by them at the Rajah's death ; while at that very time the Ranees were maintaining wakeels at an immense expense in England to prosecute the claims of their adopted son. The apologist is verily worthy of his client.'

Another, Professor, Sir John Kaye, writes :—

'Two ancient Houses, one Mahomedan, the other Hindoo, that had once flourished in the Southern Peninsula, Lord Wellesly had stripped them of territorial power. It remained, therefore, only for Lord Dalhousie, when the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Rajah of Tanjore died without heirs of the body to abolish the titular dignities of the two families and "to resume the large stipends they had enjoyed as lapses to Government." Pensions were settled upon the surviving members of the two families; but in each case, the head of the House made vehement remonstrance against the extinction of its honours, and long and loudly clamoured, for restitution. There were many doubtless, in Southern India, who still, clung with feelings of veneration to these shadowy pageants, and deplored the obliteration of the royal names that they had long honoured; and as a

part of the great system of demolition these resumptions made a bad impression in more remote places.'[1]

Another passage from Chesson :—

'The case of the widow of the Rajah of Tanjore is equally to the point. Upon the death of her husband Lord Dalhousie, as Governor-General of India, laid hands upon all the private property of the Rajah, amounting to an estimated value of £ 400,000. This act of plunder was brought before Parliament in March 1861, by Mr. P. B. Smollett. Mr. Bright, with indignant eloquence, declared that, 'nothing could be more dangerous to the interests of England in India than that the Government, on the death of a man against whom there was no charge, whose memory was unstained by any act of aggression against England or the English Government, should by main force step in and seize every thing he had—the whole accumulations of a life of prudence and economy—and leave his relatives impoverished for ever.' In the same debate Mr. Ayrton hoped 'that the Secretary of State for India would teach the Indian Government that they were bound to deal with the natives of India according to the principles of right and justice, and were not at liberty to plunder those over whom they had control.' In the end, although for this no thanks are due to the Government of India, the whole of the private property of the Rajah was surrendered to his widow. But what led up to proceedings which reflect so much honor upon the House of Commons? The Ranee first appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and in July 1859, Lord Kingsdown, so eminent for his judicial qualities, pronounced Judgment against her, on the ground 'that the property claimed by the Respondent has been seized by the British Government, acting as a Sovereign Power, through its Deputy, the East India Company; and that the act so done, with its consequence, is an act of State.' In another part, of his judgment he remarked 'that the seizure of the Rajah's property was an exercise of Sovereign Power effected at the arbitrary discretion of the Company, by the aid of military force, can hardly admit of doubt.' This indeed, was the true character of an act for which there was, and still is, no remedy—a state of things so intolerable, that surely the English people will not permit it to continue. It is impossible that they can lend countenance to "the arbitrary discretion" of any Company or Government, or to the principle of employing military force to settle questions of private right.[2]

[1] The History of the Sepoy Revolt. Vol. I. p. 111. KAYE 1872.

[2] The Princes of India, pp. 58-60. CHESSON. A lecture delivered in London on the 19th December 1872, in the Hall of the Indian Reform Society—Chair taken by John Dickinson, present Mr W. M. Torrens M. P., Mr. R. N. Fowler M. P., Mr. William McArthur M. P., Mr. Edward Jenkins and Mr. George Thompson.

As regards 'sympathy' it is a brittle flower, like beauty it fades, and like favour it is deceitful. I would prefer possessing the sledge hammer of conscientiousness.

Another periodical whose remarks I am only partly in possession of, and which I for the first time, saw re-inserted in a Madras periodical, the *Madras Mail,* writes thus,[1]—which I take the liberty of quoting :—

"In the small work on the Tanjore State recently published by Messrs. Gantz Brothers* of Madras, the author strives to claim a high caste lineage for the Princes of that remote Maratta *Raj.* To this view a political officer of considerable experience in this presidency takes exception; we print the following extract from his note which will be of interest to students of history :—It is indeed allowed by the Sessodia House of Oodeypur that Sujunsi, son of Ajeysi, left Mewar at the end of the 13th century A.D., and that Sevajee sprung from him. But because the ancestor was a Sessodia, it does not follow that the descendants must necessarily be Sessodias or Rajputs, if this were admitted then all the Koli Thakkuras would be admitted to be Rajputs sprung as they are from undoubted Rajput stocks. The descendants of Sujunsee intermarried with theMahrattas whether Aheers, Kolis or whatever they choose to call themselves, and thus were degraded in the social scale; no Rajpoot would intermarry with them as they would do were they of Rajput race. As to Sessoday and Lutchman Pal I can only say they are mythical. If the Emperor of Delhi is meant for a Mahomedan, I may point out that the first Mahomedan Emperor of Delhi was Kutbuddin Eibuck, whose date is 1205. A. D., whereas the Sessodia House were planted in Mewar in about the eighth century of the Christian era If he means the Tuar Rajputs who reigned at Delhi he should say so, but it is not clear that they were Emperors. The only Hindoo to whom this letter is fairly ascribed is the celebrated Putheeraj Chohan who united the crowns of Delhi and Sambur and was slain after the disastrous defeat of the Hindoo Rajas on the banks of the Saraswati by Mahomed Ghori in A. D. 1193. Now for the Bhonslays, the annals of the House of Oodeypur show that the Bhonslays were sprung from Bunbeer, a bastard of their House, and as before mentioned the Bhonslays lost caste by intermarriages with Mahrattas. As to the nonsense about the tribe called Chovan, see. p. 161.

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1 The *Times of India.*

* Error *for* Caleb Foster.

who lived in continual warfare, etc,, who succumbed, etc., at the time of the invasion of Mohamed Ghuzneevee when Delhi was taken possession of, etc. This is really too bad. The only Chohan who sat on the throne of Delhi was Prutheeraj. Previous to him the Tuar race ruled there. Prutheeraj's, date I have given, and also Kutbuddin Eibuck. Mahomed Ghuzneevee reigned from 997 to 1028. I am not aware either of Kutch having ever been ruled by any of the branches of the Suryavansi family."

Euclid was the earliest Scholar who reduced the Science of Mathematics into a system. But Euclid was a Grecian and wrote in Greek, very likely on papyrus. After posterity, interpreted and commented on his axioms and postulates, his problems and theorems. I wonder were Euclid alive, if he would acquiesce in modern explanation. Probably he would say he never meant any thing of the sort. 'The shortest distance between two points is a straight line,' says Archimedes ; if Machavelius had to interpret this, he would explain it thus : 'Shoot or stab the commander of an army, and you have won the battle.'

My profession of life, I may remark, is within a circumscribed sphere. I am not a Government servant. I had once the ambition to enter the 'service' when Sir William Denison was the Governor of Madras, and on the eve of quitting India, and Mr. J. D. Sim, (now the Honorable) his Private Secretary. Probably my name is still on the rolls, and my application dated 1864, mouldering on the shelves of Government House, 'the bourne from whence' no application 'returneth.' I had no 'godfather' nor 'uncle,' as the expression goes to trumpet my demerits into merits, and my merits into

prodigies. I am a pleader, I flatter myself of some experience, a profession in life, in which one learns much of men and manners. My practice has been confined to the Mofussil. The rich and the poor, the peasant and the prince, the white and the black, have occasion to seek the help of men of this profession. The burden of grief and sorrow, of wrong and remedy, are often their song. A Pleader learns a great deal of the real facts of things, more than an official, who wears the toga of dignity, and of exclusiveness, who depends for his information, on the ears and eyes of others—those others, perhaps, his menials or sycophants, who too often have a motive and a game of their own to play.

It was after reading the remarks of the Political Officer referred to by the *Times of India*, that I procured a copy of Tod on the 'Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.' I am free to admit that I had not thoroughly read this work before, and for the information that I had culled in my first paper, I am indebted more to other sources. What I have asserted is this, that the Mahratta Princedoms that had been established, were established by princes of Rajput blood and descent. I do in no way hold that the Mahratta nation, as a nation, are Rajputs. If the House of Sessodia is admitted to be of Rajput origin and descent, and if Sevajee be of the House of Sessodia—then the offspring of Sevajee though in course of time intermixed, does not lose its Rajput origin. The writer of the *Times of India* admits the Rajput origin of Sevajee as derived from the House of Sesso-

dia. Sevajee and Ekojee were the sons of Shajee of Rajput origin. Those born of the limb and loin of Sevajee succeeded to the *gaudi* of Sattara and Kohlapore, those born of the limb and loin of Ekojee succeeded to the *musnud* of Tanjore. There had been adoptions, certainly, but according to the law that obtains in India, adoptions are within a circumscribed line of relationship. Have there not been similar admixtures of nationality recognized in England, France, Spain, Portugal, and Germany? The Norman and the Saxon, the Northerner and the Southerner, the Scot and the Pict, have intermixed, and both in after generations boast and stick up to their respective ancestry and nationality ; and they are perfectly justified.

I have now carefully read through 'Tod's Rajasthan.' There is no doubt, as to the intensity of its erudition and its laboured research.* I do not know the authority of the writer of the *Times.*

In appendix† I submit what Tod has written regarding Lutchman Pal and Pudmany. If Sessoday or Sessodia is one and the same or not, I am still in doubt.

Probably the story of Lutchman and Pudmany might be mythologic, but all mythology in India is based upon fact, exaggerated into fiction. This is no strange trait in ancient history.

The Princes of the House of Sessodia, in course of time, assumed and were known by different titles.

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* Mr. James Bradshaw has recently, in the *Journal of Education*, reviewed this work. He reminds me of a pigmy, challenging a giant.

† Vide Appendix L.

They were styled *Ranas;* as children sprung from the Sun—*Sooriavumsa;* as sons springing from Rama, they were called *Raghovumsa,* a predecessor of Rama. The Hindus style them, *Hindwa Sooraj*—the sun of the Hindoos.

My further contention has been that the Maharatta chieftain family, known in *Maharashtrum* as *Mohitay,* was a distant off-shoot of one of the branches of the Rajput stock known as *Chohan.* That this House was of Royal lineage, and had long contended against the Mahomedan invaders of India, holding their own, and that their dynasty had once flourished in the ancient city of Delhi. My allusion in my first paper was to Prithiraj Chohan. The erudite historian[1] of India has stated that Kutbuddin was the first Mahomedan sovereign *of any note;* but it does not therefore follow that those who went before him of the same persuasion were not sovereigns of India and Emperors of Delhi. The *Kitub-i-yamini,*[2] a work in Persian as well as in Arabic, gives us the historical memoirs of the Ameer, Sebuktagin to which I would refer the reader.[3]

1 Montstuart Elphinstone.

2 Historical memoirs of the Amir Sebuktagin and the Sultan Mahomed of Ghazni, early conquerors of Hindustan and founders of the Ghaznavide dynasty, translated from the Persian into Arabic by Al-Utbi; into English, by Rev. Dr. Reynolds.

3 The era of the Arabs has slipped the memory of the writer of the *Times.* Edmund Burke writes of them: 'These people made a great and lasting impression on India. They established very early Mahomedan Sovereigns in all parts of it; particularly in the kingdom of Bengal; they held that kingdom for a long series of years, under a dynasty of 33 kings; having began their conquest and founded their dominion in Bengal not

Regarding Bunbeer, that he is a progenitor of Sevajee I have not as yet seen any authority. Tod makes mention of Bunbeer in his Annals of Mewar. vide. Vol. I. Chap. X. The descendants of Bunbeer who took refuge in the Deccan, are supposed to be the Bhonslays of Nagpore. But there is no reference to Bunbeer and Sevajee as connected. The Bhonslay House, says Grant Duff, was a 'respectable family.' and he is the greatest English historian of the Mahrattas as a people. And Sir Bartle Frere when Resident of Sattara, has recorded as follows :—

'The heroic genealogy of this house is traced, through the Ranas of Odeypoor and Cheytore, to the Sissoday Raja of Asseer, conquered and slain by Shalivahan, whose era commences in A. D. 77. The only historical value of the legends on this subject seems to be to corroborate other proofs that the Bhonslays, like most of the old Muratha families, had pretensions to a Rajpoot origin. They appear to have been a family of considerable influence previous to the time of Kellojee, the great-grandfather of Sivajee. There are still existing four acknowledged branches, which had separated from the main stem before Kellojee's time, and who had then acquired separate Petelships in the Deccan, which their descendants still hold. These are the families of Koral, Bamboree, Munjoor, and Bansindree. The Bhonslays of Deur, near Sattara, who are said originally to have come from Hirgunburdee, near Poona, and from whom the Rajas of Nagpore are descended, are generally supposed to have been connected with the Sattara House, but the relationship has never been established. The authentic records of the Sattara House commence with Kellojee.'[1]

Captain Harcourt writes about ancient Delhi, as follows[2] :—

The ruins that surround Modern Delhi, or Shahjhenabad, "extend "from the south end of the present city, to the deserted Forts of Rae "Pitthora and Tooglukbad, a distance of ten miles; the breadth at the

very long time after the time of their prophet.' Burke's Speeches, Vol. I, pp. 49, 50.

1 The Bhonslays of Sattara. P. 38—Frere.

2 The New Guide to Delhi—A. Harcourt, 1870.

"northern end, opposite Firoz Shah's kotla, is about three miles; and "at the southern end, from the Kootal Minar to Toogluckabad, is rather "more than six miles."—(General Cunningham.) According to a popular and well known tradition, Dilli, or Dhili, was built by Rajah Dilu, or Dhilu; the date, however, is uncertain: it would probably be about 57 B. C. The city was not resided in by the Sovereigns of the reigning dynasty for over 790 years, except at intervals; but it seems to have been occupied by Rajah, Dhava, who erected the iron pillar which stands in the square at the Kootub; about the year 319. A.D. The ancient city of Delhi may be considered to have occupied almost the same site as the Fort of Rae Pitthora. With the exception of the iron pillar, there are no traces left of this old city. The pillars at the Kootub are certainly Hindoo, but General Cunningham, the Archælogical Surveyor of India, considers there are none of these older than the tenth century A. D.

'Dilli was apparently rebuilt by Anang Pal I., the first sovereign of Tomara dynasty, but is supposed not to have been the metropolis of the Kings of Upper India, as the later Rajahs of Tomara family seem to have resided at Kanouj. The year 736. A.D. saw the commencement of Tomara or Toar dynasty of Dilli, which terminated in the 19th sovereign (who is variously termed Akr Pal Akhsal, Mokund Pala, or Ane Pala,) in the year 1130. A. D. From A. D. 1130 to A. D. 1151 there is a blank. Anang Pal II, the successor of Kumara Pala, established himself in Dilli in A. D. 1052, and built the Fort of Lolkot; (to the left of Kootub minor) which was probably finished in A. D. 1060. Anang Pal's name is mentioned in one of the inscriptions on the iron Pillar. The Chohan dynasty commenced in A. D. 1152, and continued about 40 years."

'The last Hindoo Sovereign was Rajah Pitthora, or, as he is otherwise termed, the Prithví Rajah. General Cunningham reports :—"The only "work which is attributed to Rajah Pitthora, is the extensive Fort to the "North and East of Anang Pal's Lalkot, which is still called Killah Rae "Pitthora. From the north-west angle of Lalkot the lines of Rae Pittho-"ra's walls can still be distinctly traced running towards the north for "about half a mile. From this point they turn to the south-east for one "and a half miles, then to the south for one mile, and lastly to the west "and north-west for three-quarters of a mile, where they join the south-"west angle of Lalkot, which, being situated on higher ground, forms a "lofty citadel that completely commands the Fort of Rae Pitthora. The "entire circuit of the walls of the two Forts is four miles and three furlongs, "or more than half the size of the modern city of Shahjhenabad."'

'We thus find that Rajah Dhava was in possession of the site of Rae Pitthora's Fort (that is, the ground around the Kootub) in probably 57 B. C. Passing through various hands, Dilli was rebuilt by Rajah Anang al I, but Anang Pal II. seems to have been the only Sovereign of that

period who resided in it. The Lalkot was finished by Anang Pal II in A. D. 1060, and no further additions took place till the reign of the last Hindoo Sovereign, who, to protect the town under the Fort of Lalkot, built Killah Rae Pitthora, the walls of which are here and there still visible. In A. D. 1193, Shahabooden Altomsh defeated Rajah Pitthora and took his stronghold. The Mahomedan conquerors probably continued in Killah Rae Pitthora Lalkot adjoining, adding to the works where necessary.'

'Sultan Alavodeen founded the city of Siri to the north-east of the Kootub, as it were an off-shoot of the old Delhi. In this reign the Moguls under Turghai Khan invaded India in A. D. 1303., and advanced on Alaoodeen. The latter intrenched himself apparently at Siri (now Shahapore,) and on the sudden retreat of the Moguls, caused a Palace to be built on the spot where his camp had been. "On this side," says General Cunningham, "the "suburbs of the old Delhi extended for a considerable distance. We know "also that they were without walls, because the Moguls plundered them "during their stay, and because they were afterwards enclosed by Mahomed "Toogluck, when they received the separate name of Jehan Punnah. "Immediately in front of these suburbs and facing towards the enemy, is "the old ruined Fort, there still exist the remains of a very extensive palace. "This Palace I believe to be the celebrated Kase-Hazar Siteen, or Palace of "the Thousand Pillars, which Alaoodeen built on the spot where he had "entrenched himself. This palace was called Hazar Minar, or Thousand "Minarets."—"Siri," adds General Cunningham, "cannot be identified "with the citadel that surrounds the "Kootub Minar, for the walls of "Siri were pulled down and the material removed by Shir Shaw (between A.D. "1540 and 1545), while the walls of the Kootub Minar citadel are still "standing. And further, it seems almost certain that Shahpore must be "Siri, because of its vicinity to the new site of Shir Shas' fort, for it is "hardly possible to believe that the king would have brought his building "stones from the Kootub Minor, a distance of seven miles, when he could "have obtained them from Shahapore, which is only half the distance. "That he did obtain his materials from the latter place, and not from the "former, may be regarded as almost certain, for the very sufficient reason "that the walls of Shahpore have actually been removed, while those of "the Kootub citadel are still standing." "The next city built was Toog-"luckabad, a half hexagon in shape, with three faces of rather more than "three-quarters of a mile in length each, and a base of one mile and a "half, the whole circuit being only one furlong less than four miles." It was commenced in A. D. 1321, and finished in 1325, during the reign of Toogluck Sha. "His son; Mahomed Toogluck Sha fortified the exten-"sive suburbs of old Delhi, lying between the Hindoo Fort of Rae Pitthora "and the Mussalman citadel of Siri. These suburbs had been plundered "in the early part of the siege of Alaoodeen, and their unprotected state

"fully justified the vast outlay which the king must have incurred upon "their defence. The north-west wall is one mile and three-quarters in "length, the south wall is two miles, the whole length being just five "miles, or somewhat more than the circuit of the Fort of Rae Pitthora. "A considerable portion of the south wall still exists, but the east and "north-west walls have been pulled down, and are now traceable by their "ruins. Sharifoodeen states that Jehan Punnah had 13 gates, 6 being to "the north-west and 7 to the South-west,' (General Cunningham.)

The city of Allahabad, opposite Toogluckabad, was also commenced by Mahomed Toogluck, but very few traces of it are now to be seen.

The seven forts of old Delhi are given as below by General Cunningham :—

1.	Lalkot, built by Anang Pal II. about	A. D.	1052
2,	Killah Rae Pithora built by Rae Pithora	„	1180
3.	Siri, or Killah Alai, built by Alaoodeen	„	1304
4.	Toogluckabad, built by Toogluck Sha	„	1321
5.	Citadel of do. built by do.	„	1321
6.	Adilahbad, built by Mahomed Toogluck	„	1325
7.	Jehan Punnah, built by do.	„	1325

* * * * *

Tod, regarding the Chohan family of Delhi, writes as follows[1]

'On this race so much has been said elsewhere,* that it would be superfluous to give more than a rapid sketch of them here.

This is the most valiant of the Agniculas, and it may be asserted not of them only, but of the whole Rajpoot race. Actions may be recorded of the greater part of each of the Chatees-cula, which would yield to none in the ample and varied pages of history ; and though the 'Tulwar Rhatorán' would be ready to contest the point, impartial decision, with a knowledge of their respective merits, must assign to the Chohan the van in the long career of arms.

Its Branches (Sachae) have maintained all the vigour of the original stem ; aud the Haras, the Kheechees, the Deoras, the Senigurras, and others of the twenty-four, have their names immortalized in the song of the bard.

The derivation of Chohan is coeval with his fabulous birth 'the four-handed warrior.' (*Chatoor bhooja Chatoor baha Vira.*) All failed when sent against the demons, but the Chohan, the last creation of the Brahmins to fight their battles againt infidelity.

1 Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan—Tod.

* See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society ; Vol. I. p. 133. Comments on a Sanscrit Inscription.

A short extract may be acceptable from the original respecting the birth of the Chohan, to guard the rites of our Indian Jove in this Olympus, the sacred Aboo: "the Gooru of mountains, like Soomer, or Kylas, which Achilés made his abode. Fast but one day on its summit, and your sins will be forgiven; reside there for a year, and you may become the preceptor of mankind."

Notwithstanding the sanctity of Aboo, and the little temptation to disturb the anchorites of Bal, "the Moonis, who passed their time in devotion, whom desire never approached, who drew support from the cow, from roots, fruits and flowers," yet did the Dytes, envying their felicity, render the sacrifice impure, and stop in transit the share of the gods.

"The Brahmins dug the pit for burnt sacrifice to the south-west (nyrut); but the demons* raised storms which darkened the air and filled it with clouds of sand showering ordure, blood, bones and flesh, with every impurity, on their rites. Their penance was of no avail."

Again they kindled the sacred fire; and the priests, assembling around the *Agnicounda,* † prayed for and to Mahadeo.

From the fire-fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prithi-ha-dwra ‡ A second issued forth, and being formed in the Palm *(Chaloo)* of the hand was named Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Pramara. § He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail.

Again Vasishta, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations, again he called the gods to aid; and as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (*Chatooranga*)¶ whence his name *Chohan.*

Vasishta prayed that his hope || might be at length fulfilled, as the Chohan was despatched against the demons. Sacti-devi ** on her lion, armed with the trident, descended, and bestowed her blessing on the Chohan,

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* Asoora-Dyte, which Titans were either the aboriginal Bhils or the Sycthic hordes.

† I have visited this classic spot in Hindu Mythology. An image of Ad-pal (the first created), in marble, still adorns its embankment, and is a piece of very fine sculpture. It was too sacred a relic to remove.

‡ 'Portal or door (*dwar*) of the earth,' contracted to Prit hihara and Purihara.

§ 'The first striker.'

¶ *Chatoor* or *Cha* 'four;' *Anga* 'body!'

|| *Asa,* 'hope,' *Poorna,* to 'fulfil;' whence the tutelary goddess of the Choan race Assapoorna.

** The goddess of energy (Sacti)

and as Asapoorna, or Kalka promised always to hear his prayer, he went against the demons; their leaders he slew. The rest fled, nor halted till they reached the depths of hell. Anhal slew the demons. The Brahmins were made happy and of his race was Pirthwiraja."

The genealogical tree of the Chohans exhibits thirty-nine princes, from Anhul, first created Chohan, to Pirthwiraja, the last* of the Hindoo emperors of India. But whether the chain is entire we cannot say. The inference is decidedly against its being so; for this creation or regeneration is assigned to an age centuries anterior to Vicramaditya, and we may safely state these converts to be of the Takshac race, invaders of India at a very early period.

Ajipal is a name celebrated in the Chohan Chronicles, as the founder of the fortress of Ajmer, one of the earliest establishments of Chohan power.

Sambur,† on the banks of the extensive salt lake of the same name, was probably anterior to Ajmer, and yielded an epithet to the princes of this race, who were styled Sambri Rao. These continued to be the most important places of Chohan power, until the translation of Pirthwiraja to the imperial throne of Delhi threw a parting halo of splendour over the last of its independent kings. There were several princes whose action emblazon the history of the Chohans. Of these was Manik Rao, who first opposed the progress of the Mahomedan arms. Even the history of the conquerors records that the most obstinate opposition which the arms of Mahomed of Ghizni encountered was from the prince of Ajmeer‡ who forced him to retreat, foiled and disgraced, from this celebrated stronghold, in his destructive route to Saurashtra.

The attack on Manika Rao appears to have been by Kasim, the general of Walid, on the close of the first century of the Hegiera. The second attack was at the end of the fourth century. A third was during the reign of Beesuldeva, who headed a grand confederacy of the Rajpoot princes against the foes of their religion. The celebrated Udya Dit Pramar is enumerated amongst the chiefs acting in subserviency to the Chohan prince on this occasion, and as his death has been fixed by unerring records in A. D. 1096, this combination must have been against the Islamite king Modud, the fourth from Mahmoud; and to this victory is the allusion in the inscription on the ancient pillar of Delhi. But these irruptions continued to the captivity and death of the last of the Chohans, whose reign exhibits a splendid picture of feudal manners.

* Born in S. 1215 or A. D. 1159.

† A name derived from the goddess Sacambari, the tutelary divinity of the tribes, whose statue is in the middle of the lake.

‡ Dherma Dheraj, father of Beesuldeva, must have been the defender on this occasion.

The Chohans sent forth twenty-four branches, of whom the most celebrated are the existing families of Boondi and Kotah, in the division termed Haravati. They have well maintained the Chohan reputation for valour. Six princely brothers shed their blood in one field, in the support of the aged Shah Jehan against his rebellious son Aurungzebe, and of the six but one survived his wounds.

The Kheechees of Gagrown and Ragoogurh, the Deoras of Serohi, the Sonagurras of Jhalore, the Chohans of Sooe Bah and Sanchore, and the Pawaitchas of Pavagurh, have all immortalized themselves by the most heroic and devoted deeds. Most of these families yet exist, brave as in the days of Pirthwiraja.

Many chiefs of the Chohan race abandoned their faith to preserve their lands, the Kaim-khani* the Surwanis, the Lowanis, the Kuruwanis, and the Baidwanas, chiefly residing in Shekavati, are the most conspicuous. No less than twelve petty princes thus deserted their faith ; which, however, is not contrary to the Rajput creed, for even Manu says, they may part with wife to preserve their land.† Eesurdas, nephew of Pirthwiraja, was the first who set this example.

Twenty-four Sachae of the Chohans.—Chohan, Hara, Kheechee, Sonigurra, Deora, Pabia, Sanchara, Goelwal, Bhadoria, Nurbhan, Malani, Poorbea, Soora, Madratcha, Saneractcha, B'hooractcha, Balactcha, Tussairah, Chachairah, Rosiah, Chundu, Nacoompa, Bhawar and Bankut.‡

The Tuar Rajpoots were not insignificant. Unfortunately few records remain of them. At one time they reigned in Delhi. The immortal poet and historian of Rajputana is the Bard Chund. They boast of Pandu origin ; glory in Vicramadita, whose era was established 56 years before the Christian, serving as the grand beacon of Hindu Chronology. Ancient Delhi lay desolate for 8 centuries, was rebuilt and peopled by Anungpal Tuar in S. S. 848 (A. D. 792) who was followed by a dynasty of 20 Princes terminating with a name of the founder Anungpal in S. S. 1220 (A. D. 1164,) when being without issue, he abdicated his throne to his grandchild Chohan Pirthwiraja.

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* About Futtehpoor Jhoon-Joonee.

† I would also refer the reader to pages 88, 89, 90 of Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I

‡ Among the Rajputs, in their palmy days, a custom obtained to offer up in sacrifice their wife or child to their tutelary goddess Sacambari, to preserve dominion, or shield female honor and chastity, examples of which are numerous (vide page cxxi. of appendix). When the Mahrattas invaded Tanjore, a similar act is recorded of the Hindu Naick Prince who ruled the Tanjore country. He is reported to have shut up his ladies in a vault in his Palace with a mine attached to it, for explosion. I have seen this vault; the room or subterania is used by the present princess as a store godown.

'It would be a fact,' writes Tod* 'unparalleled in the history of the world, could we establish to conviction that the last Anungpal Tuar was the lineal descendant of the founder of Indraprest'ha; that the issue of Yoodisttra sat on the throne which he erected, after alapse of 2250 years. Universal consent admits it, and the fact is as well established as most others of a historic nature of such a distant period: nor can any dynasty or family of Europe produce evidence so strong as the Tuar, even to a much less remote antiquity.'

The *Hindoo Prakash*, a Bombay Periodical, when kindly noticing the first issue of my paper, has taken exception to my panegyric of 'British Political Agency.' The Editor must pardon me if I differ from his views on this subject. The British Government is composed of many Departments; their name is 'legion.' But of all Departments of which it consists, I am of opinion, that mostly two have benefited India. These Departments are the Educational and the Political; the former benefiting the masses, the latter, the Nobility and the Aristocracy.

The Earl of Verulam styles St. Paul, the Doctor of the Gentiles, I would say of Lord Hastings that he was the real Evangelizer of India—as being the first Governor-General who encouraged education among the natives.

What we want for India is Education; we do not require preaching so much. Missionary labour is in itself good, provided its promoters are thoroughly acquainted with India in a worldly point of view (*Loukeekum*) and in a religious point of view (*Vytheekum*). But Missionaries of these days (with of course many noble exceptions) know very little of the Philosophy of their own Religion, and much less

* Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 20.—Tod.

of that of India. The Apostle of the Gentiles, says, 'Thou that teacheth another, teacheth not thou thyself?'

I have been informed that a Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, is in the habit of asking his Hindu neophyte seekers after the truths of Christianity, the question, 'you want to join the Christian Religion, do you know your own?' This is the stamp of men we want for India. It would be well for another of the Wesleyan body to place before him this exemplar. He would not then wake so often in the morning and find himself famous.

There have also been some, who have taken exception to merely secular education. A gentleman who has done much for India in this line and is also honourably known in this Presidency, at the head of that Department, is often criticized, because of his advocating the study of the Mathematics. 'Fleshless bony, dry Mathematics, what good will it do?' A great deal of good. It awakens the dormant mind to think—to reason—to compare and to choose, if in a wörldly also in a spiritual point of view. As Mathematics regulates the mind, so History teaches experience of the past for the guidance of the future. Nature, organic nature, is a continuous repetition. So the rise and fall of empires as well as the destiny of individuals. 'There is no new thing under the sun,' says the Preacher. What has been will be.

'Men whom India has known,' or more emphatically men who have known India! We require

India, but India does not require us. We require India as the most important of England's acquisitions. As education for the people—the *oi polloi*, so the department of Political Agency, is essential to the Princedoms that be, that have been, and that will be, the oligarchy of India. The stability of our Empire is chiefly owing to the energy, the honesty and the ability of our Political Agency. We can govern through them a hundred princes and thereby millions of their subjects. The names of Tod, Sir John Malcolm, Montstuart Elphinstone, Sir Thomas Munro, General Hall, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir John Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, and the last, not least, Colonel G. B. Malleson,* are names whose fame, whose greatness, whose goodness have been engravened like adamantine letters on the hearts of the country and the people where they have 'lived, and moved, and had a being.' They may be compared in the Tamil Poet's words, to rain, first destructive, then resuscitating. To quote the Poet Tiruvalluver

துப்பார்க்குத்துப்பாய துப்பாக்கித்துப்பார்க்குத்,
துப்பாயதூஉ மழை.

'As by abundant rain the world subsists, life's sole elixir in this fluid know.' It spreads destruction round ; its genial aid again revives, restores all it destroys ; such is the power of rain.†

It is indeed gratifying to find that two of our late Viceroys of India, the much lamented Earl Mayo

* Guardian to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

† Land of the Veda. PERCIVAL.

and the much respected Lord Northbrook, have turned their attention to this Department.

I shall now conclude this preface of mine with the remarks of the Honourable Robert Bourke in his speech at King's Lynn.

"Vast as our territory is in India, magnificent as is our revenue, the native states are no less a subject of importance to the English statesman, and to all who take an interest in the Indian Empire. Speaking in round numbers, in extent they are two-thirds of the size of the British provinces, and contain about one-third of the population; that is, they are about five times as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and contain a population as great as France, Belgium, and Bavaria. They maintain armies which in the aggregate amount to about 200,000 men. They vary in size and importance, from the position of little chieftains to great and powerful rulers. In considering our relations with these, one must never lose sight of the fact that Great Britain is the paramount power in India—a position which is universally recognized by the native states, and on which all native rulers understand, as for hundreds of years some such power has been recognized in Hindoostan—so that relations with the native states of India are totally different from those which we have with other foreign countries of the world. They are all bound to us by treaty, and we to them; and although their treaties vary one from another in many particulars, I believe I am correct in saying, that no native State in India can go to war with

another native State, or with a foreign power, without the consent of Great Britain. On the other hand, we are bound to protect them from the attacks of foreign foes. Besides, indeed, the necessities of our position impress upon us the absolute obligation to hold ourselves responsible for their welfare, their internal peace, and their immunity from foreign aggression. And this necessity brings us, you will see, into very close and intimate relations with the native states of India. I trust and believe, that by wise and prudent counsels, our relations with these states will, day by day, and year by year, grow more strong, more firm, more intimate, more cordial. We have nothing to gain by their adversity, we have everything to gain by their prosperity."

WILLIAM HICKEY.

St. Thome, Mylapore,
Madras, Tuesday, 8th Dec. 1874.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

As a pleader practising for several years in the Southern Districts of India, I was enabled to get acquainted with the Nobility, the Zemindars, and Poligars of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, South Arcot, Madura, Tinnevelly and of the plateau of Mysore.

Tanjore, it must be remembered, when the English entered India, was under Mahratta dominancy. I have seen this principality under the rule of its late deceased Prince Maha Rajah Sevajee, and have also heard of its glory under the sway of the great Surfojee. The condition of the members of this royal house, while wearing the purple of power, and now when divested of it, is remarkably striking and impresses the traveller with sadness at the memory of departed greatness. With these impressions I have been induced to write this pamphlet as a manual both for the guidance of the ruling power as well as for the use and benefit of the surviving members of the house of the deceased Maha Rajah Sevajee, but I regret that brevity of time and scantiness of material will probably cripple its usefulness. I lay claim to nothing original. This work is a simple compilation hurriedly put together within the space of three months. Should the work prove of any utility to the family on whose behalf it has been compiled, I would feel

myself amply remunerated and it would be an incentive for my undertaking a larger and more complete compilation. Since completing this pamphlet I have seen Mr. Nelson's and Mr. Carmichael's Manuals of the districts of Madura and Vizagapatam. I regret not having seen these works earlier, or I should have adopted their plan and design.

The visit of the young Rajah of Kolapore to England caused no small sensation ; wherever the Prince moved, he was flattered and lionized as the descendant of the great Sevajee. What would the people of England say to the indubitable fact that while the Maha Rajah Raja Ram of Kolapore was but a collateral and adopted descendant of the great Sevajee, the Princess of Tanjore is his direct lineal surviving descendant, and has a claim not only to Tanjore, but also to the kingdoms of Sattara and Kolapore, *de facto de jure.* In the Appendix to this work I have extracted Lady Verney's graphic article in *Good Words,* regarding the sensation caused in England by the visit of the Maha Rajah of Kolapore, a perusal of which will be both pleasing and interesting.*

For the materials of the present Pamphlet I am indebted to the following works : Memoirs of C. F. Swartz, by Hugh Pearson, D. D., M. R. A. S.; the Gazetteer of Southern India, compiled by PHAROAH AND Co.; Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. 41; History of the Mahrattas by Grant Duff; Hamilton's East India Gazetteer;

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* Vide Appendix K.

Taylor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts; The Last Days of Bishop Heber, by Robinson; The Life and Correspondence of Bisbop Heber, and to the several printed papers of John Bruce Norton, when Agent of the Ranee of Tanjore. I have also to render my thanks to T. Rajah Ram Missar, of Triplicane, Madras, who, though often indisposed during the progress of this work, kept his word and afforded me the services I required of him in its completion. To this pamphlet is attached a map of India, giving the British and Native Territories, and particularly distinguishing the Chief Mahratta States, with an explanatory one of the Province of Tanjore.

W. HICKEY.

MADRAS : NURSINGAPOORAM,
Monday, 25th November 1872.

NOTE.

☞ AFTER I had sent the papers of the second impression of my Brochure to the Press, I was grateful and happy to be apprized of the fact that through the recommendation of His Excellency the Right Honorable Vere Henry Hobart, Lord Hobart, Governor and President in Council of Madras, His Excellency the Right Honorable Thomas George Baring, Baron Northbrook of Straton, Viceroy andGovernor-General of India, has conferred on Her Highness the Princess of Tanjore the honor of a salute of thirteen guns. Right glad am I, and

IN MEMORY

of this auspicious event and act of consideration and liberality of a paternal Government, I do myself the honor of inserting the letter of his Lordship Lord Hobart to Her Highness the Princess of Tanore, in this paper.

If I have transgressed in so doing, my apology is, that 'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.'

'MADAM,—With reference to the letter your Highness addressed to me on the 11th March last, I have the honor to inform you that the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to assign you the distinction of a salute of thirteen guns. This mark of honor will be paid to your Highness at all Military Stations visited by you in the course of any tour you may make of the nature mentioned in para. 4 of your letter above quoted.'*

Your Highness'

Sincere friend,

HOBART.

W. H.

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* Fort St. George, 8th December 1874, No. 507. To Her Highness the Princess of Tanjore. Political Department.

INTRODUCTION.

" *Tanjore*, with all thy faults, I love thee still."

THERE lies on the Sea Coast line of the Carnatic, in the Madras Presidency, a district, once a mighty dingdom, and subsequently a principality, known—from the fragments extant of ancient Hindu Legendary—as the Chola Desum or Chola Mandalam, and by later and more reliable researches, described as the dynasty of the Naicks; but in these modern days, it sets forth the strongest claims to be considered a principality once conquered by the Mahrattas, under Venkajee, the son of Shahjee, the great Mahratta Chieftain of Sattara and Kolapore. The kingdom *was* the Tanjore Raj, but under the policy of annexation during the vice-royalty of Lord Dalhousie, it dwindled into a district, and is now recognized only as the *Tanjore Collectorate.* In these days of superior enlightenment, when the rights and wrongs of the Native Princes of India have so ably been handled by men of official position, and having Indian experience as well as personal character, we feel grieved to think that up to this date not a single pen has advocated the *long neglected cause* of the Principality of Tanjore. She is like a violet existing in seclusion and sorrowing in secrecy.

Our time will permit us to be but brief, and we shall, therefore, in the history of this district, confine ourselves to the following interesting points of information, which, we trust, will bring into prominence a Royal Estate whose history lies as a mystery, hidden within the dilapidated walls of her crumbling palaces. And if this effort of ours should awaken the sympathies of the English and Native public *in the cause and condition of the present Princess of Tanjore,* we shall consider ourselves amply remunerated in having done what we aver to be an imperative duty. It will be the object of this work to set forth, first, a description of Tanjore, including its productions, arts, professions, &c.; second, its history, ancient and modern; third, its Mahratta conquest and conquerors; fourth, their protection and patronage of Christianity; fifth, the rise of British power and its consequences; sixth, and finally, a brief account of the present Princess of Tanjore, of hopes entertained and hopes blasted.

THE TANJORE MAHRATTA PRINCIPALITY IN SOUTHERN INDIA, THE LAND OF THE CHOLA, THE EDEN OF THE SOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION OF TANJORE, ITS PRODUCTIONS, ARTS AND PROFESSIONS.

"Large, England, is the debt
Thou owest to heathendom :
To India most of all, where Providence
Giving thee thy dominion, *there in trust*
Upholds its baseless strength." SOUTHEY.

THE ancient kingdom of Tanjore* is situated in Southern India, and has always been reputed for the wisdom and good government of its sovereigns, the fertility of its soil, the industrious and pacific disposition of its inhabitants, the vastness of its commerce, and the beauty of its scenery. In former days it composed a portion of the Peninsula which is termed Dravida desa, which was divided into three ancient kingdoms known as the Pandia, Chola, and Chera. The names of Cholen, Pandian, and Cheren in the south are as familiar as household

* The word "Tanjore" is of Tamil origin, probably derived from Thanjun (தஞ்சன்) and Oor (ஊர்) ; thus composing Thunjur—Tanjur, signifying the city of Thunjun, so runs the story, but it is conjectural from the fact of their being two Forts in the district, one in Tanjore, and the other at Vellum now delapidated, whether or not the name is derived from Thunjum (தஞ்சம்) which signifies protection and Vellum (வல்லமை) which signifies strength or defence. There is however a Tamil stanza very sarcastic which runs thus :

வல்லத்துக்கோட்டைவடநோக்கிப்போகையில்,
தஞ்சாவூர்கோட்டை தானுய்க்கவுலாச்சே.

words, and live in the memories of native legend and song. The kingdom which we have now to do with is the Chola Mandalem, hence the title of Coramandel, given to the Eastern Coast of Southern India.

From time immemorial, from the classic heights of the Himalayas to the shores which kiss the virgin Sea of the South, the Princes and Rulers of this Province have been held in high esteem by their neighbours for their probity and justice, their uniform benevolence and beneficence. In all their transactions of whatever kind and character these Rajahs have displayed such rectitude as could have been the result only of right principle, by which, it was consequently manifest, they were influenced. And so it happened that when the British entered Southern India, and wished to settle in this country, their staunchest and truest friends were *the Rajahs of Tanjore.* Confident of the trustworthiness of the English, the rulers of this district, with implicit reliance in the good faith of the British, entrusted them with the management of their territories without any reservation whatever. The Rajahs of this district were not intimidated into taking this step by any fears that they entertained of forfeiting their country to the British or losing it by conquest; it was merely to cement the friendship already existing between them and their allies. At that time the State was sufficiently powerful both in money and in men to defend itself against foreign invaders, and to prove a thorn in the side of the

British whilst contending with Moslem and Hindu powers in India. But instead of taking part with these native States, as one would naturally have expected they would, and in lieu of making common cause with the foes of Britain, they generously afforded substantial and permanent aid to her Government, and enabled them not only to banish their opponents, but to settle themselves in this country in peace and quietness ; and, in their generosity, making a small provision for maintaining the dignity and position of themselves and successors, they handed over the remaining portion of the country with its vast revenues to the custody and management of their *friends and allies, the British.*

Such was their unbounded trust in the fidelity of the British, that in all the treaties that were made, ratified, and confirmed by the two contracting parties, the obligation to keep and observe the articles and terms thereof, is made stronger and more binding on the part of *the rulers of Tanjore* than on the part of the *British Government.* It is rather a remarkable fact in these transactions, and cannot but attract attention, that there is an assumption of a probability of breach of *treaty on the part of the Rajahs of Tanjore, but* no insinuation nor hint whatever of any such contingency occurring on the part of the British. It is indeed a suggestive fact, and confirms the view that the Rajahs of Tanjore held the opinion that 'their allies seemed incapable of any thing mean and dishonorable.' Notwithstanding such confidence, however, on the part of the Rajahs

of Tanjore in the British Government and their promises, *the Raj of Tanjore is now extinct ; the family of the late Rajah regarded and treated as private individuals, and the British Government have stepped in as ultimus hæres and taken possession of the vast and valuable territories belonging to the late Sovereign of Tanjore.*

Description.

To revert to our subject. The country of Tanjore is statistically described to be by far the richest and most fertile in Southern India. It is situated between the 9th and 12th degrees of north latitude, and when ceded to the British power, its territories were found to be bounded on the north by the river Coleroon, which separates it from Trichinopoly and South Arcot, on the south by the Sivaganga Zemindary (pertaining to Madura) and the country of the Thondaman Rajah, and on the east by the sea, having a coast line of a hundred and seventy miles.*

When Tanjore belonged to the Chola dynasty it might be roughly supposed to have included the Zillahs of Chingleput, South Arcot, part of North Arcot, Trichinopoly and Tanjore ; and when under

* The part of the Presidency usually known as the " Carnatic" appears to have been originally formed of three divisions, viz.:—Northern, extending from the river Pennar to the river Gundegama, and consisting of a portion of the Nellore District; Central, extending from the Coleroon to the Pennar river, and containing a portion of Trichinopoly, Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Madras and Nellore Districts; and Southern, consisting of a portion of the Trichinopoly and the whole of Tanjore, Tinnevelly, and Madura Districts. These districts came into British possession between the years A. D. 1799 and A. D. 1801.—Report of the Census on the Madras Presidency, 1871, by W. R. Cornish in 1874, page 66.

Mahratta dominancy it comprehended the Zillahs of South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and nominally the Jaghire of Mysore.

Most of our English readers have heard or read of the delta of the Nile, and of the delta of the Ganges, but very few of them know anything of the delta of the Cauvery, of which we will give some description. The delta portion of the district is flat and alluvial, fully cultivated with rice crops, studded with numerous villages, and groves of cocoanut trees, and intersected in every direction by a net work of irrigating channels from the river Cauvery, presenting throughout the features of a flourishing country. South-west of the town of Tanjore the country is somewhat more elevated, especially about Vullum, where the Collector generally resides, and there is nothing that can be called a hill in the whole district. Along the coast a belt of sand drifts and low jungle protect the lands from the sea; but between point Calymere and Adrampatam, there is a salt swamp of several square miles. No rock is prevalent in Tanjore except laterite, which is abundant in the high grounds near the western frontiers, and is again met with in the extreme south. Around Vullum are many beautiful specimens of rock crystal. Along the southern coast a narrow and thin bed of sandstone containing shells, was lately found running parallel with and about half a mile from the shore, and about two yards below the ground. The stone is compact enough to be used for building purposes. Exten-

sive beds of marine shells, consisting of the large pearl oyster and other existing specimens, have been found in many excavations south of Negapatam, at the distance of three or four miles inland, and covered with several feet of alluvial soil, and in the south coast also, are found numerous specimens of this kind, of comparatively recent appearance. The delta contains some parts of rich silt, and the immediate margins of the river are generally covered with a light loam, but for the most part the soil is naturally poor, and it is irrigation alone which makes the province such a scene of fertility.

Soil.

The varieties of soil in the higher grounds beyond the delta are red loam, black cotton soil, sandy light earth, and yellow clay, much impregnated with soda and miserably sterile. In the Puttacottah Taluk soda is collected from such soil for the manufacture of soap.

Climate.

The climate of Tanjore is much the same as that of the maritime Carnatic in general. It is a remarkable fact that in these tropical provinces covered with water, as it is during half the year, miasma is wholly unknown. The provincial sanitarium is point Calymere, which may be said to enjoy a perpetual sea breeze and is a pleasant retreat for Europeans from the heated land winds.

Staple products.

The agricultural staple of the province is chiefly paddy. You will also find sugar-cane plantations, gardens of plantain fruit, tobacco, indigo, the Noonah or Morun-

dum bellata, the root of which yields a good red dye, gardens of the jessamine flower, cocoanut plantations, palmyra trees, and indigenous cotton.

Manufactures.

Of its inland manufactures, cloth is woven in almost every considerable village, and women's silk cloths, carpets of cotton, wool and floss silk are also manufactured.

Arts and Professions.

Of mechanics the bricklayers take the lead, and are remarkably skilful in hydraulic works. There is no timber in this province. The mango, the jack fruit and the illupa tree, of which oil is extracted, are the only tree groves to be found about it. The export trade is paddy, the imports are palmyra trees, timber from Ceylon, teak and other kinds of wood from Burmah, Trincomally and the Western Coast, ponies from Moulmein, betel nut and spices from the Straits of Malacca. The native craftsmen of Tanjore have also been celebrated for their skill and ingenuity in carving work, statuary, brass work, pottery, and jewellery. Cuttack, Trichinopoly and Tanjore have always been noted for workmen of this description.

Towns.

Its principal towns are Tanjore, Combaconum, Mayaveram, Negapatam, Tranquebar, and Munnargudy. Its principal Seaports are Tranquebar, Nagore, Negapatam and Davicottah.

The Tanjore District covers an area of 3,654 square miles, and has 9 Taluqs and 3 Mottahs (sub-divisions of a district held under permanent settlement) and all are thickly populated. It contains several large towns, five of which with populations as per margin are under municipal government. It has 3,935 towns and villages, and 3,69,984 houses, of which, 12,196 are returned as uninhabited; of these houses, 6,120 are terraced, 84,568 tiled, and 2,78,394 are thatched. The average number of persons to a house is 5·5, but in the Tanjore and Combaconam taluqs there are respectively 6·5 and 6 persons to each house. The number of terraced and tiled houses in the district is the result of the aggregation of people in towns.

Extent and Political divisions.

Population.
Mannargudi... 17,703
Mayaverum... 21,165
Negapatam ... 48,525
Combaconum. 44,444
Tanjore......... 52,175

Houses.

Taluqs.	Average number of persons to each of the inhabited houses.				
	Terraced	Tiled.	Thatched	Un-known.	Total.
Tanjore	5·8	7·5	6 4	5·8	6·5
Combaconam	5·9	6·9	5·5	8·0	6 0
Mayaveram	7·0	6·2	5·4	5·7	5·7
Nagapatam	8·6	6·0	5·2	10·2	5·5
Mannargudi	6·1	5·9	5·5	...	5·5
Sheali	5 6	6·3	5·7	8·8	5·9
Nannilam	5·0	5·5	4·7	7·4	5·0
Tritrapundi	6·7	6·2	4·6	9·3	4·7
Pattukotai	7·5	6·0	4 6	5 5	4·6
Total...	5 9	6·3	5·3	7·05	5·5

The population of the district is 1,973,731, on the occasion of the previous census it was 1,731,703, so that there has been an increase of 14·0 percent. The increase was the largest in the Negapatam taluq, as will be seen from the annexed comparative abstract.

Increase of population.

DISTRICT STATISTICS.

Taluqs.	Population per Quinquennial Return of 1866-67.	Population according to the Census of 1871.	Increase.	Percentage
Tanjore	300,808	344,339	43,531	14·5
Combaconam	310,184	341,034	30,850	9·9
Mayaveram	193,852	219,358	25,506	13·2
Negapatam	165,801	200,733	34,932	21·0
Mannargudi	147,777	161,264	13,487	9·1
Sheali	97,045	107,459	10,414	10·7
Nannilam	190,910	207,407	16,467	8·6
Tritrapundi	128,252	154,714	26,462	20·6
Puttukotai.....................	196,960	237,423	40,463	20·5
Total...	1,731,619	1,973,731	242,112	14·0

The Hindu population is 1,803,787, Mahomedans 102,703, Christians 66,409, Jains 239, and others 593. The population is thickest in Combaconam and Negapatam taluqs, where there are 1,009 and 829·5 persons to a square mile, respectively.[1]

In every country and clime, nature, physical nature, has borne away the laurels of man's devotion and adoration. This has been stamped upon the history of every nation. The Christian with his advantages of light and revelation looks upon it as superstition, but what is it in reality? All statue sculptured idolatry, all deification of nature, has a sublimity

[1] Census report of Madras Presidency for 1871, by W. R. Cornish, F. R. C. S., pages 291 and 292.

about it. It is the mind, the intellect, the soul of man searching after the Great Architect of the Universe and embodying him, mistaking the creature for the Creator.

The religion of Budhism is anterior to Brahminism. Budhism is monotheistic. We have visited the Caverns and rock temples of Karli, Ajanta, Nasik, Ellora, Salsette, Elephanta and Mahbalipuram. There is a striking resemblance between the temple architecture of Egypt and India. To confine ourselves to the description of the caves of Elephanta alone, cut as they are, out of the solid rock. The rock is supported by 26 pillars and 16 pilasters. The principal apartment is 130 feet square. There are several small chapels connected with the chief area. As one enters the cave the prevailing darkness, issuing as one does from broad day light, throws a dizziness on the spectator, and as his eye gets familiar with the gloom, a dread comes over him at the majestic statue, composed of three heads united in one bust. This colossal piece of sculpture represents the Hindu Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. To describe the sculptury of this hall and the apparent symbolic signification.

The excavations of Elephanta! Probably the most ancient temple, raised by human ingenuity, in perpetuation of religious Truth. Ancient Temples—what are they? whether records of Time, or archives of Knowledge, or Lodges enshrining sacred principles communicated to man during pristime purity, is conjectural. One enters this

temple and is impressed with the belief that it is a superstructure of religion. The master-key for the interpretation of its sculptury, is the doctrines of primeval revelation. Embodying doctrine in tangible imagery. As you enter this temple of antiquity you meet with a figure, whose head-dress denotes him to be a representation of the Supreme Being, to whose worship, the memory of whose qualities, attributes and dealings with man, this mysterious temple, was constructed and dedicated. This initiatory fact is suggestive, as the same Being in six other sculptures, appears attired in similar tiara. A multiplicity of arms, of faces, of heads, is significant in Eastern allegory. Suggestive of power, of omnipresence, of omniscience. The Judaic prophecies corroborate this fact. The next figure facing this one, is a similar one, in a sitting posture. The former representing action, the latter existence. How strangely this tallies with the symbolism of Egypt, configurating the attributes of God, and the 'I am' of Holy Writ.

You advance further into the temple, and there, you meet with an altar. Symbolic of the only medium of communication—sacrifice—between fallen man and offended God: having two pieces of sculpture to the right and the left, one representative of a being in a state of progressive motion, moving along without exertion with sword in hand—described as Jehovah by penmen of inspiration. The figure opposite to this is the same figure, but changed in attitude—seated on a wall, not perpendi-

cular, but on its face probably an hieroglyphic representation of the Universe,* supported by elephant heads, suggestive of power. So far the worshipper has advanced, and is impressed with the awfulness of the presence he approaches.

But to revert to the High altar. It is decorated, and represents a huge bust of three heads. Never was depicted in sculptury more vividly the doctrine of the Divine Trinity. The heads face East, West, and South. The southern face probably watching the Sun, in his meridian—the eastern face, in the spring of his life; the western face, his declining existence. The centre one detonates a flash of majestic dignity, that on the right is expressive of suffering, it wears a chaplet on its brow entwined with a human skull and an infant; in its right hand it is strangling a snake. The one on the left wears about its face a cast of womanly loveliness, a conciliating, comforting demeanour. In its hand is a lotus flower, symbolic of imperishable life, with a fruit placed before it significant, perhaps, of the fruit of knowledge. The neophyte worshipper enters this temple by the south, is plunged into momentary darkness, travels northward in search of knowledge, reaches the high altar—is initiated, darkness ceases before him, he is ushured into light, the light of saving knowledge. Figuratively, he is directed to travel to the east, by the three-headed figure, to search for knowledge and obtain wisdom, for the bust-face, pointing to the east is repre-

* Mænia Mundi.

sentative of the power that heals, and the face pointing to the west, betokens the power that comforts—allegoric of the spring, and the sun-set of life.

But strange the, next sculptury is a representation of two human figures, a man and a woman, on the back-ground is the three-faced bust. The woman stands with head bending forward, with hands folded over her bosom, her demeanour significant of submission and resignation. The male figure stands leaning on the tip-toe of listening attention. How vividly this portrays the Mosaic account of the Fall.

The next sculptury is a group of three figures, a man, a woman, and a child. The woman in the act of presenting the child to the man, the man placing his hand over the head of the child in token of acceptance, and over these two figures a serpent-head is looking on with an eye of envy and terror; while over these again are seen a cloud of beings. Does not this tally with the Mosaic account of the Promise?

The next figure is that of a woman with four arms, standing, but throwing the whole of her weight to her right—the east. Her body in this attitude is distorted, as if her hope rested on the strength of her right arm, which rests upon the head of a bull—the token of Sacrifice. Another right arm of hers crushes a serpent, the same symbolism that is represented in the three-headed bust and the face, facing the east. A cymbol she holds in one of her left hands, a sign of triumph in Asiatic allegory; with another left hand she is receiving gifts from a

group of people. Among that group is the figure of a queen, she has a sceptre on her shoulder, a slave following her, with a casket of jewelry. But the most strange feature of this womanly figure of sculptury is, that she is only left bosomed.

And now we come to the last group of figures. A new piece of sculptury appears on the scene. One is represented as seated upon a gauddi, the face of the figure in its delineations is half god-like, half human. About him are standing numbers in submissive and slavish obedience. Behind this regal personage is seen the head of the bust, facing the west, representing the comforter—in an act of prompting. The only sculptury in which this face and figure appear. May not this be a faint representation of the last Judgment. Thus far have we endeavoured to throw light upon the hidden, past, defective as it be—but Holy Writ hath said that 'God hath never left himself at any time without a witness.'

To our subject then. The most prominent feature of Tanjore is its river, the Cauvery, an expression which but feebly portrays its relation to the country through which it flows. This province may be said to be not so much as watered, but indeed as created by its river. Its soil is not only fertilized but deposited by the river, its manure being the alluvium brought by the periodical freshes. Its waters are sweet and delicious, and even when most turbid might be easily filtered. It is indeed the centre and sole existence of its province. No wonder then that the river is deified and goes by the name of Cauvery

Ammah, a feminine term of endearment. The origin of this river, as related in a work or puranum, specially composed on her behalf, is as follows. The Cauvery purana first gives the history of the river. Its divine origin, its connection with Rishi Agastia, (the settler of the Vindiah mountain range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea, in obedience to the council of Agastia, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity. The seizure of the Amirta, the produce of the ocean churned by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishnoo, the Lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Mohini emanated, Lakshmie at the same time sending forth Lopamudra (a form of Parvati) charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Cauvery now are, and was changed into a rocky cave. Lopamudra was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Purana fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Cauvery Muni retires to Brahamagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi—gives him Lopamudra for a daughter. She in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring

out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Cauvery Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the privilege, when turned into a river, of absolving all people bathing in the holy waters, from every sin they may have committed. Brahma of course grants this blessing to his daughter. Now another person appears upon the stage, who is to control the future course of Cauvery Muni's daughter. While Cauvery is still absorbed in her devotions, the great Rishi Agastia espies her, and forthwith asks her to become his wife. Though longing after the fulfilment of her vow, she consents to live with Agastia, under the conditions, however, that she shall be at liberty to forsake him, whenever she is left alone. One day Agastia went to bathe in the river Kanake, leaving Cauvery near his own holy tank, guarded by his disciples. Thus deserted by Agastia against his promise, she plunged into the holy tank and flowed forth from it a beautiful river. The disciples tried to stay her course, she went underground. At Bagandakshetra she appeared again, and flowed on towards Valambooree. When Agastia, on his return, saw what had happened, he ran after Cauvery, begged her pardon and entreated her to return and to remain with him. Unwilling to change her mind, yet loath to grieve Agastia, Cauvery divided herself, one half, flowing off a river, the other half staying with the Rishi. Agastia then explained to the

river half, which road to take to the eastern sea, enumerating all the holy places lying in the way of the new stream. Previous to this origin of the Cauvery river, a Brahmin Suyajna performed great devotions to Vishnoo at Dhatrepura, a spot near the fountain of the Cauvery. Vishnoo at length appeared to him. Suyajna asked the god to give him Muktie (beatitude, *i. e.*, in the Hindoo sense, loss of consciousness, yea of self: individuality being the source of sin and misery) and to render him a benefactor of the world. Vishnoo gave him Sujyoti for a daughter, and told him "she will be a benefactress of the world and her merit shall be thine. Go to Agnihill, Kanake, a servant of Devendra lives there. Into her charge give Sujyoti and do thou attend to thy devotions." Suyajna fulfilled the command of Vishnoo, Sujyoti joined Kanake in her meditations. After a while Devendra came on a visit and asked Sujyoti to become his wife. She promised to obey, but secretly she opened her mind to Kanake, and told her what grief she felt at having to be Devendra's wife, instead of becoming a river. Both of them set off immediately as two streams, Kanake and Sujyoti. Devendra finding himself cheated, cursed Sujyoti and said let thy waters disappear. Whereupon Sujyoti begged his pardon, when Devendra pitying her, said, when Cauvery will appear you and Kanake may join her, and in her company go to the great sea. This word of Devandra was fulfilled when Cauvery flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastia. (There are only two streams,

let it be remembered, which join at Bhagamandala. The Cauvery runs underground for some distance, which is accounted for in the purana by the interference of Agastia's disciples.) Now follows a glowing description of all the holy country. In the eleventh chapter Sanake and the other Rishis ask Suthapuranika about the country in which the sources of the river Cauvery are. What names has it? they inquire, and what is the origin of the name? What are the frontiers of the country, its customs, its tribes? To these questions Suthapuranika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Darmavarmah by the Rishi Dalbheya. The frontiers of the country are these, it lies to the west of Ramnadpuram; (thither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Siva's help against the Rakshashas who destroyed her; her stony form is still to be seen there, says the bard. There Rama, to atone for his murder of the Brahma, descended, Ravanah consecrated in Siva's name the holy Linga) to the north of the renowned Parasoorama's Kshatra (holy land) three gaundoo (12 coss) to the east of the western sea; to the south of Kanva Rishi's habitation. From east to west it measures six yojana (24 coss), and from north to south three yojana or 12 coss.*

* The source of this sacred stream is called Tala Kavéri or the head of the Kávéri, the tiny rivulet trickling out between two hills called Brahmagiri and Agnigiri. It is received into a small reservoir, which is generally venerated, and visited by hosts of pilgrims. Further on, at Bhagamandalam, it meets another stream called the Kanke. There is only a petty temple at Tala Kávéri, which is an elevated wild tract three miles from civilisation,

The river Cauvery is the main water supply at Tanjore; and consequently an account of its irrigational utility to the province will be interesting. The river Cauvery enters the district of Trichinopoly at its western boundary, its breadth being about, 1,200

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but at the October festival, crowds of devotees encamp on the spot, and perform their vows. At Bhagamandalam there is a large temple which enjoys an endowment of 600*l.* a year, and is reputed to be an ancient edifice. Inaccessible as is the country about Tala Kávéri, there is a pass in the vicinity, called Tarikanna, which was formerly much in use, but is said to be now impracticable. The Káveri, with virgin modesty, steals its way silently under the cover of lofty overhanging banks and thick forest for the greater part of its course through Coorg. One may be encamped only a few yards from the stream, and yet be unaware of its proximity, owing to the dense growth of wood on its sides. When swollen by floods, however, it is very deep, and becomes impassable, cutting of all communication between the chief towns of Merkara and Virarajpett. It is bridged at Fraserpett where it leaves Coorg, but no where else. As in the case of all the great Indian streams, mythology and poetry have combined to cast a sacred halo over this river, investing it with the rays of divinity and the charms of modesty; and, in truth, when one reflects upon the priceless boon which its waters bestow on the parched up lands of the plains, it is no wonder that the grateful recipients of its bounty should weave a romantic tale about its celestial origin. This Indian Undine, in silence and seclusion, performs her penitential homage in order to obtain the beatitude of her foster father, the sage Kavera muni, while the stream into which she is transformed, after stealing almost unperceived away from its birthplace, when it enters Mysore, assumes the majestic name of a goddess, and thundering over rocky channels, pursues an impetuous course till it dashes itself over the magnificent falls at Sevasamudram. The Lakshmantirtha, which rises in the Brahmagiri hills of South Coorg, is an affluent of the Kávéri, and is also utilised as soon as it enters Mysore, several irrigation channels being taken from it in that province. In Coorg it flows through forests, and has steep banks, so that no direct benefit is derived from its waters, but the supply is constant. The other rivers of the province, namely, the Hatti Hole or stone river (mentioned in the despatches of the Duke of Wellington) are of inferior note. The Hamarvati, which is a Mysore stream, traverses a portion of the Yelusavira division, and after considerable impediments to the traffic between Coorg and Manjarabad.—BOWRING'S *Eastern Experiences*, Pp. 230, 231, 233 and 234.

yards from bank to bank. About 12 miles west of the town of Trichinopoly, the river is intersected by the island, as it is termed, of Serungham ; and from this point the northern branch assumes the name of the Coleroon, the southern keeps that of the Cauvery. The former branch flows on with little change till it enters the sea at Devikottah near Porto Novo, the latter, after entering the Tanjore province, is broken up into innumerable ramifications which spread over the whole alluvial delta, and render it a scene of unmatched fertility—where the Cauvery separation takes place at the west end of Serungham, a work of considerable magnitude and importance was erected some years ago, known as the 'Upper anicut.' This work, though situated within the Trichinopoly district, was designed for the benefit of Tanjore. The southern branch of the river, or the Cauvery flowing by the town of Trichinopoly, irrigates almost the whole of the fertile province of Tanjore, while the northern branch, the Coleroon, is of comparatively little use for irrigation. For many years past it had been observed that the bed of the Coleroon was gradually deepening while that of the other branch was rising; and the effect of the change was constantly increasing difficulty in securing sufficient water in the Cauvery for the irrigation of Tanjore. From the very commencement of the British possession of the country this difficulty had been felt; and one of the ablest Engineers, Colonel Caldwell, predicted in 1803 that in the course of not many years the Cauvery would be

dry and Tanjore ruined. Various expedients were adopted from time to time to arrest the evil, but with only partial and temporary effects, and the consummation foretold by Colonel Caldwell seemed impending. At this juncture, Sir A. T. Cotton of the Engineers, proposed an anicut across the head of the Coleroon ; such a work was accordingly constructed in 1836, and it has completely answered the important end in view. Not only was the downward progress of Tanjore arrested, but signal improvement has followed ; the irrigation was rendered both more abundant and less fluctuating, and both the Government revenue from the province and the prosperity of its inhabitants have attained a higher point than at any former time. Some years after the anicut came into operation, its effect was found to be even too powerful ; the bed of the Cauvery river was being deepened, and it was feared that ultimately the quantity of water poured into Tanjore, would be too great. To avert this danger, an anicut or dam on a level with the bed, was constructed in 1845 across the head of the Cauvery. This prevents the lowering of the bed, and by means of this and of the under sluices in the upper Coleroon anicut, the river is now effectually under command. Although thus built solely for the advantage of Tanjore, the anicut did incidentally benefit Trichinopoly also. The Laulgoody talook is watered by the Coleroon, and its principal channels being now taken off at the anicut, are better and more certainly supplied than

before. The Conaud (Trichinopoly) talook again is watered by the Cauvery below the point of separation, and thus shares in the benefit obtained by Tanjore. The whole anicut across the Coleroon, and excluding the sole or flooring across the Cauvery consists of three parts, being broken by two islands one 70, the other 50 yards wide. The south part is 282 yards in length, the centre 350, and the north 122, total including the islands 874 yards, or exclusive of the intervening islands, the clear length of the anicut itself is 754 yards. It is simply a plain brick wall six feet thick and seven feet high ; the crown being covered with cut stone, to resist the friction of the water and sand passing over it. It is founded on two rows of wells sunk nine feet below the bed of the river, and protected from the overfall by an apron or pavement of cut stones from 21 to 40 feet broad, the outer edge of which rests as a foundation on a single row of wells, and further is secured as an exterior defence by a second apron from six to ten yards wide, formed of large masses of rough stone thrown in loosely without cement of any kind. A similar work of rough stone extends along the entire front or upper side to protect the foundation of the body of the anicut. There are 24 sluices distributed at unequal distances along the weir, the largest being seven by two feet, which are very effectual in keeping the bed of the river above the anicut free from accumulations of sand and mud. The sluices are connected by a narrow bridge of brick consisting of 62 arches of 33 feet span and six

feet rise. The piers of this structure, built on the anicut, are six-and-a-half feet high and five feet thick. The breadth across the soffit of the arches is eight feet three inches, and the roadway within the parapets six feet nine inches. The object of constructing the bridge having been principally to secure access to the sluices during floods, and there being no great thoroughfare across the river at this point, a greater breadth of roadway was unnecessary. But the communication is very useful for foot-passengers and cattle. The cost of this work from its construction in 1836 to the year 1850, including repairs, was about 2,00,000 Rupees or £20,000, the extent of land influenced by its being about 600,000 acres, yielding a revenue of £300,000 annually, which is steadily increasing. The lower anicut is built across the same river in the Trichinopoly district 60 miles further eastward. This work, though standing within the Trichinopoly district, was not designed for its benefit alone, but for that of Tanjore and South Arcot also, more particularly the latter. It was built like the upper anicut in 1836, and under the advice of the same able Sir A. T. Cotton. The chief use of it is to supply the Veeranum tank in South Arcot, and to water the two southern talooks of that Collectorate, Chellambrum, and Munargoody. The grand anicut, as it is termed, is a work constructed by a former Sovereign of Tanjore, a Cholan Prince. It is of the nature of a huge Calingula on the north bank of the Cauvery at a point about 10 miles east of Trichinopoly. At this

point the Cauvery had, in very ancient times, formed an escape for itself, through which a portion of its waters returned into the Coleroon, here considerably lower than the Cauvery. The closing of this outlet was necessary to the safety of Tanjore, when the irrigation of that province became general, and the grand anicut was constructed for this purpose in very remote times. It was quite successful and is highly creditable to the ability of those who devised and executed a work of this nature with such very inferior appliances of science and constructive art as they possessed. It is of just such elevation as to retain the water to a height sufficient for watering Tanjore, while the surplus passes over it into the Coleroon. About 10 miles east of Trichinopoly the Coleroon and Cauvery re-unite, and at this point where they run so very closely parallel, is what is called the 'grand anicut.' This is not an anicut in the proper sense of the term, but a Calingula built on the bank of the Cauvery, as an immense weir to discharge over its top in high freshes the surplus water of the Cauvery, which runs in the higher level into the Coleroon. It is a very ancient work, and was the source of constant dispute between the former Rajahs of Tanjore and Nawabs of Trichinopoly, for whoever claimed charge of it, of course possessed the key of Tanjore in his hands. It is 360 yards long and 22 wide. It consists of a mass of rough stone in clay, of unknown depth, covered with a course of hewn stone and chunam (mortar). On its eastern end are 30 under-sluices

for discharging the accumulated sand of the Cauvery into the Coleroon. The whole is surmounted by a brick bridge of 30 arches, each arch of 32 feet span and a roadway of 15 feet. Both the under-sluices and the bridge have been added to the work by English Engineers; the latter was built in 1839. The use of the sluices is to relieve the bed of the Cauvery of accumulating sand, by means of the scour thus obtained. The bridge is on the road from Combaconum to Trichinopoly, and is highly useful—prior to its construction the road being often impassable at this point for days and even weeks together. The weir itself, like many works of native construction, has a serpentine form, and the bridge following this presents a peculiar appearance. About four miles to the east of this, at Covilady, is another weir, 100 yards long, crossed by a good bridge. A little to the westward of the grand anicut, and opposite to it, the first great irrigating channel of the Cauvery takes off; it is called the Vennar. It is, in fact, rather a branch of the Cauvery than a channel, and irrigates about 300,000 acres of land. There had always been great difficulty in securing to each branch its due proportion of water, the current setting sometimes on the head of the Cauvery and sometimes on the head of the Vennar, and alternately deepening either bed, so that when the freshes subsided, one channel would be found blocked up with the sand, while the other was very deep. From year to year temporary expedients were adopted, but failed of any permanent

effect. It was at length proposed to build a low dam or rather a raised pavement across the head of both rivers, to keep them on an equal level. This work was constructed in 1850 and 1851, and is altogether 623 yards in length, exclusive of the wings, which divide the two streams, and between which is a large sluice at the head of a great irrigating channel. The total length from north to south is 2,100 feet. There is a narrow bridge on the dams, consisting of 48 arches of 30 feet span, with piers 10 feet high, and connecting the sluices which are lower in level by a foot than the rest of the work, and serve to regulate the currents. When it is desired to throw into either river a larger body of water than naturally flows towards its head, which can only be necessary, in a very low state for the main stream, a row of planks is fixed in iron hooks along the front of the dam in the other head; the sluices of which are also shut until a sufficient supply is considered to have passed down to sustain the crops, when the same method is adopted with the other branch, and thus every part of the cultivated land in the province of Tanjore may receive in turn a full share of the entire stream of the Cauvery. By these simple works the two rivers are completely brought under command. The dam is raised one foot above the natural bed of the river and is founded on wells, covered with brick masonry and cut stone, the foundations being protected in front and rear by aprons of rough stone. From this point the Cauvery pursues its way in a

North-east direction, till ten miles beyond the grand anicut it throws off a second branch, viz., 'the Codamurty.' The River when it flows on in a diminished stream just south of the town of Triviar, about 30 miles from the grand anicut, throws off a third branch called the 'Arsillar;' twelve miles further on, it passes just north of the town of Combaconum, and two or three miles further throws off a fourth branch called the 'Veerabhola Cal.' The Cauvery then, after passing Mayaveram, a small streamlet, flows into the sea at Cauverypatam.

Next to the river the attractions of this province are its temple Monuments or Pagodas. Take every nation that has existed, Tyre, Phenicia, Babylon, Chaldea, Egypt, Greece, Rome, where are they? their names as a nation and as a people have been clean swept away from the face of the earth; but India has existed from the most ancient of days and still exists,—her people, her religion, the same; her civil and social constitution the same, though divested and despoiled of the purple of power; and her rock-built temples and her plane-erected pagodas live and look as fresh as when first the architect brought them into existence. 'Surely they have a language as well as a story of their own.' The pagodas of the province of Tanjore have been the special creations of the more recent Cholan Kings, afterwards protected, embellished and multipled by the Naik Rajahs. The great pagoda of Tanjore, as well as its rock-carved bull, have challenged the admiration of many. The Cholan Prince Karacala

is supposed to have erected them as an act of penance, as he was a leper. Our time will not permit us to go into the fable; sufficient, if we say, that this temple has a tower one hundred feet high, capped by a block of granite which weighs 80 tons. The tower is called a shrine, and is distinct from what is known as a Gopuram or tower. Mr. James Fergusson, F. R. S., declared this temple to be the finest in India. At Nagore there is a fine minaret, about 90 feet high. At Negapatam there is a brick tower about 70 feet high. The province abounded with Choultries which, when the Mahratta Rajahs of Tanjore held the country, fed all castes, creeds and colours indiscriminately.

The leading towns are Tanjore, Combaconum, Mayaveram, Tranquebar and Munargoody.

Tanjore.

This place is 200 miles from Madras, and was the capital of His Highness the Rajah. He had sole jurisdiction here, but not elsewhere in the district after the ceding of his territories. Besides a populous native town, there is a large fort in which is the Rajah's Palace. The large and small Forts were occupied by the Rajah, but to be invested by the British in time of war, both evidently were constructed under French Engineering and supervision. The walls were lofty and built of large stones, under the corners of the ramparts were cavaliers. Both were built on the same plan, with ditch and a well formed glacis. The large Fort has almost evaporated, under the paternal management of the British Municipality.

Pity this. Under the present improved mode and anciliaries of warfare, Forts are less objects of fear. It would appear to us, more literary to preserve them as monuments of the buried past, and if we strive by our rule to make the hearts of the people ours—need we fear fortifications, timidity surely is not the cause of their demolition! When the orders came, and when the determination was known, that the Tanjore Fort was to be demolished—we know the feeling that prevailed. Much grief was shown. Bewildering grief—because helpless: we also know of the glutting of the cupidity of under-strappers to delay, if possible, the work of devastation. Wonder that our rulers do not consult more the feelings of those whom they rule!

The small Fort is attached to the large one. This secured the temple of Tanjore—the finest specimen of the pyramidical temple in Hindustan. The black granite Bull, reclines incumbent, guarding the *Dwajasthambum* or *Baleepeetum.** The admiration to coming generations of the finished sculptury of Tanjore.

We have stood by the dawn of day on one of its cavaliers, the panorama is enthoiling—this sacred shrine forms the foreground, then appears the large Fort, spreading its wings, over the Palace and Temple of its Sovereign and people—then opens to the view, a green sea of fertility. Field upon field, with the interspaced beauty of dark garden groves, with the meandering moon-lit course of the river

* From *Dwaja*—Rallying point, *Sthambum*—staff—flagstaff; *Balee*—Sacrifice—*peetum*—stand. Both Sanskrit words. Here the God Indra presides.

Cauvery, and far off glimpses of lofty mountains, mingling with the blue of the skies.

Tanjore was the seat of learning in the south of India. It must be remembered, that here, the Almanacs were first drawn up, which makes the Christian Era 1800, to correspond with the year 1722 of Salevahana and 4901 of the Kaleioog. The house occupied by the British Resident is two miles off. Many Guzerat merchants live here.

Combaconum.

This place is 175 miles from Madras, and next to Tanjore, is the largest town in the district. The town is about two miles in length and one in breadth, situated close to the Cauvery (over which is a handsome bridge) and the Arsillar. Here the Session Judge once resided and here were the Court House, Jails, and other public buildings. Combaconum is considered one of the most sacred towns in Southern India. It is also one of the wealthiest, not only through the large endowments of its temples, but because numbers of Government Officials of high rank fix their residence here, after retiring on a pension. There are 12 largely endowed pagodas, and the Brahmins form an important item in the population. There is a constant influx both of traders and devotees; for the Cauvery is considered particularly holy at this point. The surrounding country is of the prevailing level and alluvial character of the province, it is wholly irrigated, and is under water from June till December. The taluk of Combaconum contains nearly 500 villages.

This is a small neat town in the north-east corner of the district. The Cauvery (here a very narrow stream) passes through the town. The station of the Sub-Collector was once at this place, but now a Head Assistant is located here; it is 153 miles from Madras.

Mayaveram.

This town which is situated on the sea shore, was formerly a Danish settlement. It was ceded to the English on payment of a sum of money in 1845; and was the head quarters of the Collector, and where the records and treasury were kept. Negapatam was formerly the head quarters. The Collector, however, generally resides at Vellum near Tanjore, during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon. The native name of Tranquebar is Tharangumbody; it is 158 miles from Madras.

Tranquebar.

This is a place of importance among the natives, from the great number of Brahmins and Pundarums residing there. The pagoda is a very large one, the east Gopuram being 150 feet high. Coloured cotton and silk cloths are manufactured here.

Munnargoody.

It was our intention to give an account of the several forts and fortifications built by the Chola kings in several points and positions, of the Carnatic, but, time will not permit us. We confine ourselves to the description of a solitary instance, viz., the fort of Ginge. The fort stands on a stupendous rock, and is impregnable by the ordinary modes of

attack. The natives of India, who esteem no fortifications very strong, unless placed on high and difficult eminences, have always regarded Ginge as the strongest town in the Carnatic. The mountain of Ginge has always been deemed extremely unhealthy ; and it is said, the French, who never kept more than 100 Europeans complete here, lost 1,200 during the 10 years it was in their possession.

This fortress was either built or improved on an old foundation of the Chola kings, by the son of Vizeya Runga Naik, the Governor of Tanjore, in 1442. It was successively strengthened by the Mahomedans of Bejapoor, who possessed it from 1669 to 1677 ; by the Mahrattas, who held it from 1677, when it was taken by Sevajee during a sudden irruption into the Carnatic, to 1698. At this period it was besieged and taken by Zulfikar Khan, the Imperial General, who appointed Rajpoot Governors, who affected independence, and assumed the rank of rajahs. In 1715 it was held by Saddet Ooliah Khan; and in 1750 was taken by surprise during a night attack by the French, under M. DeBussay. After the capture of Pondicherry, it surrendered by capitulation to Captain Steven Smith, in April 1761.

With these hordes of Mohamedan and Mahratta armies, a large number of the people of the north-west, known among the natives as the country of Hindustan, and also of the Province of Rajputana, came and settled in the Deccan and the Carnatic. These people went under the appellation of *Para-*

dasees which word literally means strangers. They are the natives of Northern India belonging to the caste of Rajput, Khatry, Kayath, Jat, Banya, and Brahmins. This last class were called Puncha Gowdah or the Five Gowds, one of the two great divisions of Brahmins, the other division being known as Puncha Dravida or the Dravidas. The people in question speak the Hindi or Hindustani language, known as Dakha in the Deccan, the written character being the Dava Nagary. With the exception of the Kayath and Banya the above castes are fond of being employed in the Military Service of Government. Some of these have risen high in all the departments of the Uncovenanted Civil Service. The story of the Rajah of Chenji, or Ginji as English historians call it* is in the mouth of every villager. The memory of Rajah Jeya Sing, commonly known as Deysing Rajah among the Tamilians, and the interesting story of his beauteous and virtuous Queen are as household words. It is a romantic and spirit-stirring legend, the recitation of which kindles the flame of chivalry in the heart of every native soldier, just as the sound of the Scotch bag pipe recalls the memory of his highland home to a Scot in a foreign land. A class of bards, chiefly Telugus, earn their bread by reciting the story, accompanied with the strains of a kind of guitar, greatly admired by the lower orders of the natives. It would appear that the Rajah of Chenji

* Talboy Wheeler in his work—'Madras in the olden times,' has given a description and partial history of the Fort of Gingi.

had in his confidence his cousin, the Rajah of Melchery, who commanded a Fort on a hill of the same name two miles from Chenji, and held a large number of villages in his possession, the capital of his small dominions being at the town of Desoor, 10 miles from Chenji. After the fall of Chenji, on the death of the Rajah Jeya Sing by his own hand in a battle with Sadat Ullah-Khan, Nabob of Arcot, the Rajship of Chenji was overthrown, and that of Melchery was greatly reduced, only about 10 villages being held by the last Rajah Tejnath Sing as his personal Jagheer, and on his demise a little more than 40 years back his estate was taken in trust by the British, during the Collectorate of Mr. Cunliffe to be ultimately restored to the proper claimant; the Zillah of South Arcot, in which this petty Raj is situated having come to the possession of the British in the year 1801, during the governancy of Lord Clive. The claimants of this Estate are said to live in or near the village of Hermadah not far from the capital of the Rajah of Jeyapoor; and in point of fact, the Rajah of Melchery as well as the lamented Rajah of Chenji are but collateral branches of the celebrated Royal House of Jeyapoor, the gadi or throne of which is now occupied by His Highness the Rajah Sivoy Ram Sing Bahadoor, G. C. S. I. The descendants of those who hold Inams under the Rajah of Melchery, even now place their trust in the justice and generosity of the British Government, and hope that some day or other they will come in possession of their Inam hold-

ings. It is a matter of regret that no Englishman has ever written an authentic narrative of Chenji, though in Tamil and Telugu there are various accounts, both in prose and verse, facts being mixed with fable, as is peculiar to all purely native works.

It has been stated that the native princes were, in general, inefficient rulers, and tools in the hands of their ministers and dependents; but occasionally there sprung up a genius, such as the Maha Rajah of Jaising of Jeyapoor, who at once combined in his own person the virtues of an enlightened ruler and a learned politician, a patron of letters, and a promoter of science and arts. This prince has handed down his name to posterity, and is even known to the learned of Europe for his inquiries and observations into the Arabic science of astronomy. The noble mind and the lofty aim of this Hindu prince are best illustrated in the plan and construction of the beautiful city of Jeyapoor,—a city, which, of all others in Northern and Central India, is the one built upon scientific principles. Rajah Jaising's love of letters induced him to invite pandits from Bengal, Cashmere, Benares, the Dekkan, and other parts of India to his court, and to collect those ancient scientific and philosophical works which were almost lost to the country. The immense library he had thus collected, not only saved to the world the Sanskrita literary and scientific works, but latterly they rendered invaluable assistance to the exertions of Sir William Jones and Mr. Prinsep, in their efforts for the collection of a complete library

of Hindu works in the Asiatic Society's Museum at Calcutta. Many Sanskrita works of very ancient date on theological and metaphysical subjects, which had become lost sight of for want of study and reproduction since the time of Sanker-Acharjya, or to speak properly, since the decline of the Hindu monarchy of Konanj, were found in Rajah Jaising's library. Nor did the western sciences receive less attention from his liberal and inquiring mind. The mathematical science of the Arabs and their astronomy were then known in India, and they had received a fitting place in Jaising's mind. The observatories constructed at Delhi and Jeyapoor by this prince, at an immense cost and after much labour, have been admired by modern scientific men of Europe, and they are a triumph of labour for the investigation of scientific truth. The great dictionary or encyclopædia of the Sanskrita, Arabic, Persian, and Hindu languages, containing a vocabulary of miscellaneous subjects, called the *Jaising Kalpadruma,* had also been compiled at his court. As a Kshatrya and an offshoot of the great Surjyabansa, Rajah Jaising was the only prince who had performed the *Ashamedha Zagya* after the reign of the Pandavas,—a Zagya for which the Hindu Shastras provide the highest merit, and which can be only undertaken by the mightiest of kings. As a soldier and politician, the Rajah had always distinguished himself both in the field and in the cabinet of Delhi. His name is still cherished with veneration and esteem by the people of Malwa, to

which province he was appointed viceroy by the emperor of Delhi. But such men as a Jaising and a Juswant Singh (one of the Jadhpur princes who had many of the virtues of Jaising) were not common amongst the native rulers. It may be argued, perhaps, that the Government under which there were born such men as Birbul, Todermul, Mansingh, Abul Fazil, Abul Fyozee, and Jaising, must have been paternal, and enlightened. The question may be easily answered in the affirmative with reference to Akbar's reign, in which five out of the above named six personages flourished, and the worst enemies of the Mogul Government would even admit that monarch's reign to have been prosperous. But others, with high sounding titles, who sat on the Peacock-throne after him, not even the apologists of the Mahomedans, with a shadow of truth, can support.

TANJORE, ITS HISTORY ANCIENT AND MODERN, THE CHOLA AND NAICK DYNASTIES OF TANJORE.

CHAPTER II.

"Full many a mighty name
Lurks in thy depths, unutter'd, unrever'd
With thee are *silent fame*,
Forgotten arts, and *wisdom disappear'd.*"—Bryant.

In ancient times South India was divided into three dynasties, the Pandian,* Cholen, and Saren. There is a minor division of them, according to the language spoken by the people in those parts, viz., the Telinga, Canada, and Tamila Dasem or country. We have to do with the Chola dynasty. It is impossible to fix the exact date of the early rise of this kingdom as there are no records, but from remnants of legendary works, a register has been discovered of its *existence* though not of its *origin.* We can trace it to the Hindu Kaleeyugam and the Indian year S. S.† 136 (A.D. 214). Its existence as an independent kingdom is traced up to the Indian year S. S. 830 (A. D. 908) and we find it after this in the throes of dissolution up to S. S. 1379, (A. D. 1457). Trichinopoly is supposed to have been the first seat of the Chola kingdom, and its founder, one Tayman Nall who is supposed to

* The kingdom founded by Pand may be that on the coast of Malabar, the Pandi-Mandel of the Hindus, the *Regia Pandiona* of the geographers of the west and of which, probably, Tanjore is the modern capital. Tod's Rajasthan, Volume I., page 41.

† S. S. stands for Succo-Salevahuna, the year of Salivahan.

have been a native of Oude or some part of Upper Hindustan (hence probably the name of its rock); Wariur (Ureur) was his capital. From the legendary tales which relate to the antiquity of Madura, Conjeveram (Kanchi) has been shown to be the first seat of its Government, and very possibly the superior position of Trichinopoly, and the advantages of its river, the Cauvery, caused the transference of the Government to the latter town. This of course must have been a work of time and the consequence of many hostilities with the Pandian kings, whose territories in early time, extended north of the Cauvery even up to the Vellar. But that Wariur at one stage of its history was its capital may be presumed from the fact that one of its kings, named Kolottunga Cholen, had an illegitimate son who could not succeed him, to whom Conjeveram was assigned, with a district round about it, occupied by wild and fierce tribes, ruled by a Prince called Adonda and titled Thondaman Chakravarty, which division of the district was afterwards known as the Thondamundalum, a small Principality whose rulers when pressed upon by the Chola kings, removed their Government to Arcot. In Ptolemy's tables we meet with the expression *Arcati Regio Soræ.* Lists have been preserved in the temple of Triputy, Chendragiri, and Peramatore of the Cholen kings giving us twenty-three of them. Those in Kondatore and Conjeveram give eighteen and are supplemented with dates, viz., A. D. 214 to 908, an

interval of 694 years. In the *Vrideswara Mahatmeah*, a Sanscrit work, sixteen kings are enumerated, whose names are *Kolottunga, Deva Cholen, Sasisgara, Sivalingum, Vera Cholen, Kerikala, Bhima Cholen, Rajarajandren, Veramarthandan, Krithaverdhana, Vijya, Kanaka, Sundaru, Kalakala, Kaleana, Bhudra.* These names, however, do not fill up the interval of 694 years. The enumeration of eighteen or twenty-three kings found in the local lists, deserves a preference.

It is generally supposed that the Chola dynasty lost its identity by marriages into the Pandian, during a period of 570 years. Certainly marriages did take place between the reigning families of these dynasties, but there is as much to support the hypothesis, that the fiercest hostilities existed, and bloody warfare was the frequent avocation of these rival kings, of which we have ample indications from extant records. Thus we read of the Pandian Kolatungen killing a Cholen king, his name signifying destroyer of the Cholen race; again of the Pandian, Savuntha Pushana, marrying the daughter of a Cholen king; of Parakirama Cholen conquering the Pandian country. We might cite more instances but these will suffice.

We have no authentic record as to the date of the removal of the Cholen capital from Wariur. Strange and legendary reasons are assigned for it, such as the profanation of a *Muni's* garden, by stealing from it some *sevantha* flowers, thus inducing him to pronounce a malediction on the city; again,

of a shower of sand burying the town and destroying many of its inhabitants, which is more probable, as high winds and sand storms are common in Trichinopoly. The seat of Government from Trichinopoly was next removed to Combaconum. At Mayeveram, about 20 miles north, there are the remains of a palace and of a choultry corroborating this. The time *when* the capital was transferred to Tanjore, is not known; it might probably have been antecedent to the march of Cottama Nadama Naicker, to restore Chendrasakara, which took place about S. S. 1460 (A. D. 1538.)

We next notice in the Carnatic dynasty, differences between the kings of Tanjore and Visuvanada Naicker, leading to the transfer of Trichinopoly from the former to the latter. By the end of the 17th century, the Pandian lords of Madura became too formidable to the Cholen kings of Tanjore and consequently Tanjore invoked the aid of the Mahrattas against his neighbours. Ekojee, the half brother of Sevajee, entered Tanjore, defeated his enemies and assumed the Government with the consent of the Chola Prince, as is established by the Mahratta records in manuscript at the royal archives of Tanjore, Satara, and Kolapore. Thus commenced the Mahratta dynasty of Tanjore and ended the ancient Cholen line of Princes.

Before we commence to give an account of the Mahratta dynasty of Tanjore, we would say a few words about the *Naick Principality*, founded on the decline of the Cholen and Pandian kingdoms, and facilitated

by the irruption of Mahomedan conquerors. Vizianagarum was the seat of the Carnatic power, and Kristna Royer was at the head of its government. He ruled twenty-one years, from A.D. 1508 to 1530. The Madura rulers invoked his aid to assist them against Tanjore, and the great Royer sent his general Nagama Naicker to support Chendrasakara Pandian, who effected the desired conquest and kept the country to himself. This usurpation was not recognized by Kristna Royer, but on Nagama's death he permitted the installation of his son Visuvanada Naick as king, and thus commenced the dynasty of the Madura *Naicks.*

About this time the Mahomedan power was spreading its sway in Southern India. The first Mahomedan army that crossed the Kristna was led by Kafer or Malek Naib in A.D. 1311, who carried his conquests as far as Ramasewaram. In A.D. 1374 Mojohed Sha overran the countries between Vizianagarum and Cape Comorin. These invasions swept down the Mysore dynasty. The Moslems did not remain in the south, and shortly after the middle of the 14th century, the Pandian kingdom became tributary to the Vizianagarum Royer. Hence the rise of the Naick power in Southern India and the dependence of Tanjore on Naick influence.

Following the history of these Princes, we first meet with the name of *Krishtnapa Naick* who obtained Tanjore as a royal gift from a royal hand. He is said to have laid the foundation of the Tanjore Fort, to have collected large reve-

nues, to have fought and won many battles, and to have carved for himself a kingdom. He is said in his 84th year to have abdicated his crown in favor of his son *Tuninapa Naick,* who being a bigotted Hindu, spent his time in devotion, and adorning the temples. He repaired the temples at Virdachellum, Terunamalay, and Cocanum, at heavy costs. He abdicated his crown in favor of his son *Atchutha Naick,* who, like his father, was given up to enriching the temples and making the priesthood comfortable. His charities were as great as his gifts. He abdicated his crown in favor of his son *Ragunatha Naick,* who differed from his predecessors, in that, he took to languages, instead of temples. He was the Solomon of his age in wisdom, and the Absalom of his time in personal beauty. He is said to have married a beautiful lady, the daughter of the King of Madura. By her he had two sons named *Rambudren* and *Vijiaragaven.* The younger brother excelled the elder, and consequently the kingdom was given over to him, on account of his physical prowess and mental acquirements. His elder brother was fain to satisfy himself with what he got, viz., the territories of Terukattupully and Pandea Nellore. This Vijiaragaven Naick was the best and most useful of the Naick kings: he added, by conquest, territories to Tanjore, completed the Fort commenced by his ancestor Kistnapa Naick: he patronized priests, temples, and charities—he built the courtyard of the famous temples of Trivellore: he was wide awake, as to avoid being poisoned:

he lived for a long time, having many wives and begetting many children: and though escaping the cup of poison, he fell a victim to the steel of the assassin. As the story goes, Rambudren being envious of his younger brother's prosperity, conspired jointly with the Mahratta Chief Shajee, and fought against his brother and thus fell the Naick dynasty, of Tanjore. We now come to the history of the rise and establishment of the Mahratta power in Tanjore.

Before we close this chapter we shall give an account of the system of administration of a Native Government and the mode of working its different departments.* To enter into the subject of the duties of the prince himself, who as absolute ruler of his state, occupies at once the place of both the highest functionary, as well as that of the Sovereign. The principal duties, which occupy the time of a Hindu Prince in the early part of the day, are the daily performance of religious rites and ceremonies, commencing with the gift of a cow to a Brahmin. He then visits the different temples in and adjacent to the palace, attends the place where the *Vedas* are recited by the Brahmins, and then engages in his morning worship. Thus passes the time of a Hindu Rajah for upwards of three hours in the day, and when he has finished, the physicians are called into his presence. Amongst these, the personal physician invariably comes with one or two kinds of medicines which he had been ordered to prepare the

* Calcutta Review, 1867.

previous day; the other physicians in their turn present draughts, shurbuts, and other preparations in common use in the season, which are never used but sent to the medicine room for courtesy's sake, there to dry or decompose in the phial in which they were brought. The European doctor who is attached to every Political Agency is also invariably surgeon to the Prince at whose capital he resides. In this capacity the doctor is valued highly, and is applied for when there is any purely surgical case. As a physician he has no footing in India in native society, except in the presidency towns where there are communities of English-speaking natives; and in a native court it cannot be reasonably expected that the doctor will find a royal patient to drink a fever mixture prepared by a Mahomedan native dresser. European medicine for internal use is so much detested by natives of rank, that even in medico-surgical cases the doctor who performs the operation of the knife is not allowed to give his pills to the patient, and if he persists in doing so at any time, his medicine finds a place in the general medicine room, side by side, with the draught of the hakeem.

In the midst of this, when the prince is engaged in receiving and consulting his physicians, it is not uncommon that a *Chela* or a *Khawas* comes in with folded hands, and informs him that the minister is waiting at the door for permission to enter. When the order issues for his admission he makes his appearance before his master, is made to sit with the

physicians, and to join in their conversation till the signal from a personal attendant of the prince informs him, that the latter is ready to hear what he wishes to represent to him. But it being the rule with native governments, and perhaps with all governments presided over by one absolute ruler, that at the time of the transaction of State business all outsiders should depart, the physicians, who have hitherto taken the lead in the conversation before the Prince, are unceremoniously signalled to make their exit. The Prince and the minister now being alone, the business (whatever it is) is transacted as quietly as a domestic matter between a yielding husband and a prudent house-wife. The business done, the minister makes his exit, and the time comes for an audience with the court Pundits and astrologers, who, one by one, make their entry with Sanskrita verses and couplets of their own composition in their hands, and occasionally with copies of Purana and Upanishadhas.

No sooner are these erudite but uncourtly persons seated, than each of them, eager to display his own learning and genius, struggles to take the lead in the conversation, and to convince his royal auditor that pandit A has better knowledge of Nayan than pandit Z, or that astrologer B's calculation of the last solar eclipse was correct while astrologer X's was wrong. And it is not uncommon among these honest but ambitious persons, that they are easily enraged when their opinions are contradicted in any nice question of Hindu jurisprudence of philosophy.

To support their own arguments they would talk for hours together with a tone and vehemence only next to quarrelling. These pandits being Brahmins, have a kind of license of speech before Hindu princes, which is not enjoyed even by ministers and members of royal families. The pandits being dismissed, the breakfast is called in, and with it the man whose business it is to taste all things before the prince sits down to his meal. This custom of having all eatables and drinkables tasted beforehand is immemorial in India, and is a caution against poisoning which is not of rare occurrence in native States. With the breakfast ends the business of the morning, and then comes the time for a short rest. In the afternoon, between three and four o'clock, when the prince rises from his couch, the time is generally devoted to sundry small matters, such as the taking of medicines, giving orders about horses, elephants, and carriages. Should any foreign merchant happen to arrive with curious articles for sale, such as jewels, valuable diamonds, horses or elephants, he is admitted into the presence of the prince at this time of the day, and his articles are examined and in many cases purchased also. Then comes the time for evening prayer and the visiting of the temples, which is generally accomplished within an hour after nightfall.

The greater part of the State business is transacted during the night. At this time all the ministers and principal officers make their entry into the place one by one, and are allotted seats in a

separate building; but no sooner does the prince make his appearance in the private hall of audience, than the ministers are called in at once, and are made to sit near his person according to their respective rank, the prime minister occupying the first seat among the State dignitaries. Then the judges are called in, the revenue officers, the fouzdar, the commanding officers of regiments, the vakeels of different departments, the officer having charge of the intelligence department, the officer in charge of the treasury, the officers of the public works department, and many others too numerous to detail, who, in their respective turn, solicit orders for the business of their several departments, and these having been given, they one by one make their exit. If any foreigner happens to come for an interview with the prince, either with the object of opening a commercial agency at his capital, taking land in lease, or requesting employment in the State, he is introduced to him at this time of the night, and receives attention to his request, or not, according to the nature of the question advanced. When the business with the outsiders has been transacted, then commences the private counsel with the ministers on important financial and administrative matters, which generally takes an hour, but in special cases occupies much time, and even lasts till a late hour in the night. The conferring of *Khiluts,* which is customary in native courts on the occasion of conferring appointments, is also done at this time. All business having thus been transacted, the musicians

and dancing women are called in, who divert the company for a short while. The ministers then take their leave, and the prince goes to supper. After supper the *Kissawala* or the narrator of tales is brought in, and made to sit outside the *Purda* of the bed-chamber, and the prince lying on his sofa hears the idle talk of this man, who, as is wont with his class, is often blind, eloquent of speech, witty, humorous, and having in his memory the tales of the "Arabian Nights," and similar stories from the Gulbakawli, Bahardanish, and Budramoonir.

The above is a short account of the daily duties of a Hindu prince; but we should not omit here the mention of some others which, though not of daily occurrence, are nevertheless constant, such as meeting the Political Resident at his Court, which generally takes place once or twice a week, and sometimes oftener, and the review of troops, of all arms and descriptions. The meeting with the political agent is strictly private, and in it the ministers have no share. In this the British representative gives his advice and opinion to the prince on administrative matters.

Next to the prince, and over the head of all, is the office of the prime minister. This officer, as a rule, is a high caste Brahman or Kshettrya, born of a wealthy and influential family, and invariably a relation of a high functionary, and a landholder. He must combine the virtues of a politician, a diplomatist, and a financier, and must be possessed of an amount of aptitude and penetration equal to his

calling. He must be popular, religious, and liberal, must respect all ancient customs and institutions whether of the State or of the people. He is required to be of mild temper and sober habits, accessible to all, and patient in every thing. An outward show and pomp in his house, carriage, and retinue, are also among the principal requirements of the prime minister of a native Court. In Hindustan his designation of office is *Moosahib,** which means constant attendant of his sovereign. It is not easy to find a man with all the above qualities in every prime minister, but more or less these functionaries combine in them some of the virtues stated above. As an instance of liberality it has been said of the late Rawalshew Singh, prime minister of Jeyapoor, that he gave a reward of Rs. 100 to a man for dyeing a *pugri* to his liking, and which was really the labour of four annas. His dhoby, his tailor, and other menial servants were all provided with horses and bahlas for their conveyance, and had grants of land yielding a good annual income.

The functions of a prime minister of a native court are manifold. Though there is a separate

* Local customs have given various appellations to this officer. At Oodipoor he is called *Chanjgurh;* at Judpoor, *Purdhan;* at Jeipoor, (where they have engrafted the term used at the Court of Delhi) *Moosahib;* at Kotah, *Kelladar* and *Dewan* or regent. He becomes a most important personage, as dispenser of the favours of the sovereign. Through him chiefly all requests are preferred, this being the surest channel to success. His influence, necessarily, gives him unbounded authority over the military classes, with unlimited power over the inferior officers of the state. With a powerful body of retainers always at his command it is surprising we have not more frequently our 'Mayors of Burgundy and Dagoharts,' our 'Martels and Pepins, in Rajasthan.

financier in every State under the designation of Dewan, the former is always held responsible for the proper arrangement of the finances. He has the chief control over the judicial and the revenue departments of the State, and is always appealed to when the decisions of the lower courts are not satisfactory to the suitors. In political correspondence with the British Government or its local representatives, the prime minister is in some cases the author, and, in others, the dictator of all such despatches. In the usual amicable correspondence, which is also kept up with the friends and relations of his prince, the prime minister is often the medium, and sometimes the dictator of these epistolary correspondences. When he is an old and faithful servant, he is invariably the referee in all disputes and differences between the prince and his wives, and between the latter alone. In former times the prime minister had always the chief command of the army invested in him; but the modern usage is, that any military arrangement made by the commander-in-chief (who is called the Bukshee Foujor Moosahib Fouj) shall not be final, until it receive the sanction of the prince through the office, and under the seal and signature of the prime minister, who is thus virtually the controller of the deeds and actions of the head of the army, though the actual command is taken away from his hand. The judges, the magistrates, the revenue collectors, the officers of the customs department, of the educational department, of the public works de

partment, &c., are all under the immediate orders of the prime minister who, with his coadjutor, the Dewan, exercises supervision over all the departments of the State.

Next to the office of the prime minister is that of the Dewan, or minister of finances, whose duty it is to make the annual settlement of land revenue, give villages in lease, and through the Nazims advance money to the cultivators as tuccavi for the purchase of bullocks and the digging of wells. The arrangement of the customs revenue, of the salt revenue, the sayer, the ferry collection, the taxes upon quarries and mines, the collections from the mint, &c., are under the disposal of the Dewan, who is also appealed to from the decisions of the Nazims in revenue cases. The duties of this functionary are as onerous and responsible as those of the prime minister; and his office is by no means less important than that of the latter.

The judicial department of a native government, although a model of our law courts, is still an anomaly. There being no proper system for judicial training, the judges are recruited from the different departments of the public service, without discrimination as to their previous training or employment. The judicial department of a native State, as the exponent of the system of Hindu administration, must, of course, be expected to be officered by men who have studied the Hindu law and jurisprudence, but in this instance the *quasi* legitimate claim of the pundits is often ignored, and

the service is opened to men of all shades of life, from clerks to military and revenue officers, and sometimes to private individuals having no other claims to the office of a judge than that they are jagirdars, respectable bankers, or favourite physicians of the prince. It must also be borne in mind, at the same time, that the law courts of a native State still go under the disguise of an institution, the guiding principles of which are the institutes of Manu and the works of other Hindu legislators, while the officers who preside over them are as innocent of *Mitakshara* or *Yagyabalka,* as they are ignorant of the simplest acts of the legislative council of Calcutta. It has been a moot question for a long time with the British Government, whether it has any authority to interfere with the judicial administration of a native government, when such administration falls short of the requirements of the present time. The philanthropic public who take an interest in the welfare of the natives of India, do now and then ventilate this subject in the newspapers and periodicals of the day, but the treaty-obligations cannot be ignored for the sake of justice, which being a political question, is, as a matter of course, more important than its subordinate—the judicial. But the fact of a deficiency in the latter branch of the administration may, it is apprehended, prove injurious to the body politic, and destroy that political balance which our statesmen so studiously try to preserve. It may be argued in support of the neutral policy of our

Government, that a certain stipulation in each treaty with the native princes and chiefs, has created a barrier to the march of the Catholic laws of the British legislators beyond the frontiers of our districts. We do not mean to advocate here the extension of the British laws to the territories of the feudatory princes, to the disparagement of the solemn promises as contained in large sheets of parchment, bearing the seals of such illustrious personages as Lords Lake and Cornwallis. We contend rather for the adoption of a middle course between the two extremes, viz., the letting alone of the judicial administration of a native government, or forcibly introducing the English laws. The middle course we propose would be a slight pressure from the paramount power towards the organization of a purely judicial service with training in the Hindu and Mahomedan laws. The Brahmins learned in *Shmriti*, who acquit themselves well in public examination, might be selected for Judges in Hindu States, whilst Mussalman Moulvis equally tested in Mahomedan laws, might be appointed to similar posts in Mahomedan States. Now the question arises, whether the British Government is at liberty under the existing treaties to exercise such a pressure upon its allies, however wholesome and disinterested it may be. Any reader of the Political. History of India or of the international laws of Great Britain will answer the question in the negative, and no doubt, *primâ facie*, the proposition would look like an intrusion rather than a friendly

suggestion on the part of the paramount power. But every rule has its exception, and the traditional custom of India proves it to be properly susceptible, beyond the least shadow of a doubt, to such external pressure from the sovereign power, which protects the minor governments, and is their guardian and acknowledged superior by treaty rights. Moreover, when we see a slight laxity and deviation from the original policy (although with the consent of the feudatories) in the matter of the suppression of Suttee, Thuggy and Dacoity, and the general administration of the criminal justice of a native State, the unusual scrupulousness in the case of the civil justice is hardly compatible with the British name and its enlightened government. The Hindu and Mahomedan laws, both civil and criminal, in their original crude state, cannot be said to be so liberal as the present laws of the European countries, but their administration by trained lawyers with aid of the commentaries, precedents, and decisions, of ancient Hindu and Mahomedan Judges, would be preferable to the hodge-podge of all laws or no laws at all.

The criminal law of the Hindus, excepting that portion which provides mutilation and other punishments of torture for heinous crimes may be well applied to Hindu States in suppression of the Mahomedan laws that now obtain in them ; whilst in the civil branch, the laws of inheritance, of evidence, of mortgage, of conveyance of rights and properties, the relation between master and servant, be-

tween husband and wife, and between sovereign and subjects, are as liberal as those of any legislature of the modern times, and may all be well applied to the present stage of society under a native government. We will now try to see how these tribunals stand practically as courts of justice. Apart from their merit as law courts, and the mistake to be found in the theory of their existence, they are, in general, good Punchayets or arbitrary tribunals, presided over by two or more judges whose business it is to decide every case according to the established usages and customs ; and in points of dispute, where the legal question preponderates over usage, the court pundits are applied to for *Vebeastha,* and they in a body give their opinions, quoting the passages of the Shastras applicable to the case. The suitors and their agents (the latter though not lawyers, yet go by the name of *vakeels* in Rajputana), and sometimes their relatives and dependents are allowed the right of pleading in support of their claims, and are carefully heard and contradicted after the fashion of trained judges and lawyers of our courts. In some States, where the expense of the judicial tribunal has lately increased with the increase in the number of judges, the law stamp has been introduced as a means of defraying the expenses of this branch of the public service, and to reduce the number of unnecessary suits that annually accumulate on the file.

The criminal justice of a native State is dispensed by a Foujdar and his deputies. The office of the Foujdar is a reserve for Thakurs of influential and

respectable families ; and when in special cases this post of dignity and emolument is given to an outsider, his family and social position are looked to more than his merit as a judicial officer. Although the position of Foujdar of a native State corresponds with that of our district magistrates, the former enjoys more authority as a judicial officer, inasmuch as he is invested both with the powers of a Magistrate and a Session Judge. There being no demarcation observed between a committing officer and the officer invested wiih the powers of the session, the same Foujdar who tries minor cases would also try cases of capital offence, and pass sentence upon them ; and his sentence can be confirmed or reversed only by the court of ministers under the presidency of the prince, for whose approval sentences on capital offences are forwarded. Appeal also lies from the decision of the Foujdar to the ministerial court, and to the ruler of a State himself ; the chief civil court, having no control or jurisdiction over the Foujdaree court. The law and procedure which guide the business of this court have, from a long time, been Mahomedan. The Hindu criminal law, as contained in the Institutes of Manu, has been superseded by Mahomedan laws, perhaps evor since the Mahomedan conquest of India ; but before these States came in contact with the British Indian Government, certain of the old Hindu customs used to be observed, those especially which awarded light punishment to Brahmins convicted of murder or culpable homicide. According

to Manu a Brahmin convicted of manslaughter should be punished with the shaving of his head, deprivation of his property, and the turning him out from his land of residence; but he should not be put to death. In cases of adultery among females, the same law provides a system of punishment which would be regarded as too severe at the present time. It is therein enacted, that a woman convicted of adultery should be shaved of her head, deprived of her nose, and being mounted on a donkey, turned out of the community where she lived. These anomalous proceedings could not be preserved and tolerated under a Christian Government, holding the supreme sway of the country; and hence the British Government was obliged to recommend the discontinuance of these and other similar practices in native States. The result has been that the criminal courts in the Rajputana States, being divested of some of their Hindu procedures, without accepting in their place the penal laws of the British Government, have become purely Mahomedan courts, in many places, too, presided over by Mahomedan magistrates.

The management of the police, being a concomitant of the office of Foujdar, the same functionary controls this department also. The police of Rajputana, though not organized on the principle of our new detective and protective police, is still useful and efficient under proper management; and in some respects excels the constabulary of the British territories. In tracing thieves the *Mina*

policeman has a peculiar aptitude or almost instinct, which is not approached by the Hindustani and Punjabi police, with all their improved system of drill and training. Mr. Montstuart Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, and Colonel Tod have one and all deservedly commended the system of tracing thieves by the Minas, who, as a class of police-men if adequately paid and properly managed, would excel all others of this branch of the service. The Mina will trace a thief, when he proceeds to his work *con amore,* through rock, sand, or water, and under the greatest disadvantages of rain and wind. Once show him the spot where a burglary, highway robbery, or cattle-lifting has taken place, and he will trace the perpetrator of the deed by his foot-prints to a distance of one hundred miles and sometimes more. Nor is the Mina less useful in other respects : as a watchman, a single individual of his caste, when appointed to a village, will not suffer theft or robbery to be committed within his boundary. But when not in the service of any Government or State, the same Mina is the worst thief and obstinate cattle lifter. In the principalities of Jeyapoor and Ulwar, the Minas are hereditary watchmen, guards of forts, arsenals, and treasuries, and they keep their trust very faithfully.*

The general management of Police of a native State is on the whole satisfactory.

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* In Southern India there is a similar class of people, called Cullen which word signifies thief. His Excellency the Rajah of Poodoocotta is a Cullen by birth and descent.

The revenue administration of a native State is something peculiar to itself, and is an institution which has few parallels in modern times. The greater portion of land in each state being alienated in jagirs and religious grants, the revenue derived from the *Khalsa,* or that portion of land which is under the direct assessment of the State, is the property of Government, and meets all its expenditure. The jagirs are of several kinds, amongst which that given for military service is the principal, and is one not resumable by the State, as long as the service originally agreed upon is faithfully performed. When the Rajputana principalities were first founded, and the country taken possession of from the Minas, Bhils, and other aboriginal people who occupied it, the conquest was, as tradition goes, effected by military adventurers of the Rajput tribe, with leaders at their head from amongst the scions of the ruling families of Ayodhya and Kanouj. A land thus conquered by the aid of military chiefs and soldiers of their own blood and kin, admitted a permanent right to the occupation of its soil on certain conditions from the beginning, supported by the laws and customs of the country. As a consequence of necessity for constant military aid from them for the preservation of the conquered land, the feudal lords received their grants of villages in Jagir, in consideration of the duties which they engaged to perform on an emergency, and the number of horses they supplied for the constant service of the State. Another kind of jagir was the grant made

formerly as provision in land for the support and maintenance of the junior members of a Royal family who have no claim to the throne (which is always secured for the eldest son), but who being born of Royal blood had to be provided with means suitable to keep their dignity and position. This latter jagir is also granted on the same principle as the former, and held on the same condition as those of the feudal lords :—the supply of effective cavalry horses and sowars for constant duty being compulsory, and a main condition of the grant. On the demise of these jagirdars, leaving natural heirs of their own body, the son succeeds to the estate of his father, and his titles and honors, with the sanction of his government; but in the event of a failure of direct heirs, and when the land-holder dies intestate, the adoption of an heir cannot be made without consulting the native government, and without procuring its sanction to that effect previously. In a few and isolated cases, the adoption is made without the knowledge and consent of the Durbar; but it is not recognized, nor are the honors and titles allowed, so long as the sanction of the Durbar has not been procured.

The other kind of jagir is the assignment of land made for State service. Under this head are included the jagirs of the highest functionaries, as well as of the commonest putwary of a village. These jagirs are often hereditary but sometimes for life only, and they are resumable by the State at any time. The fourth kind of grant is that made for

religious, educational, and charitable purposes. These do not lapse to the State on any account, but constitute a sort of endowment, and in this way has been alienated the greater portion of the land of a Hindu State. In the event of mismanagement of these endowments, the lands are temporarily resumed and officers appointed to superintend and bring their revenues into a proper state, keeping the accounts quite separate from the State Financial accounts. The main source of revenue of a native State, as has been before mentioned, is the Government share upon the produce of the Khalsa land. The ryot of Rajputana, who is a tenant-at-will, and not a permanent tenant like his brethren of Bengal, cultivates his land under a lease from the neighbouring Nazim or revenue Collector. He is also sometimes a subordinate tenant to a zemindar who takes in contract a purgunnah or a certain number of villages for a certain period, generally not exceeding three years. The ryot, although a tenant-at-will, acquires a right to the soil when it has been cultivated by him and his ancestors for a long period, and is not liable to ejectment so long as he continues the same cultivation under the terms granted in his lease. The assessment of taxes upon the cultivator is generally made twice a year, in the seasons of the two crops of *Rubbee* and *Rhoriff*, and according to the value of the produce. The Nazim sends out *Ameens* to the villages under his jurisdiction, to estimate the crop of each cultivator when it is ripe in the field; and after this has been made upon

every acre of the cultivated land, the share of the state is demanded. If the ryot is affluent, he pays it in money, if not, in produce, which is sold by the officers under the Nazim, and the amount remitted to the local treasury. The system of payment in kind is not a favourite system with the cultivator, nor is it profitable to the Nazim, who being responsible for the disposal of the grain, and realization of its price, tries to avoid this mode of payment; but the circumstances of the ryot sometimes compel the revenue officers to accept it.

The army of a native State is composed of the three principal arms of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, and is generally officered by Mahomedan and Rajput officers under the general command of a commander-in-chief, who is designated Bukshi of the Fouj. The artillery is recruited from the Mahomedan population of the State, and the infantry from both Hindu and Mahomedans, while the cavalry branch of the army is mostly filled by Rajput horsemen, partly supplied by the jagirdars, and partly consisting of men engaged on regular pay. Besides the above three arms of the modern system of warfare, there are irregular foot soldiers in some States who carry with them sword, shield, and knife, and occasionally bow and arrows, and go by the name of *Nagas.* These forces are drilled and equipped, though inadequately, yet after the European fashion, and are constantly reviewed by the commander-in-chief, and occasionally by the prince himself. As to the efficiency of the army of a native State for

active military service, the question can be better decided by professional men, but to ourselves, as superficial thinkers on the subject, it seems plain that the force maintained by a native prince is a match for the turbulent people he has to govern, though regarding it in the European sense of the term, it is essentially deficient.

The expenditure under the head of public works of a Hindu government, is a large item which the financiers have to meet from the State revenue. The lump sum, which is annually debited against this department of the State, is not expended on reproductive public works, but on such works as the construction of a Dharmashala, the sinking of wells in the vicinity of large towns, and the building of Bisraths in public bathing places on the Ganges and the Jumna. The excavation of tanks, the construction of reservoirs, of roads, and of passes, and the erection of pillars and columns in the sacred shrines of Badrinarain, Kedarnath, Jwalamuki, Kashi, Gya, Mathura, and Brindabun, are the favourite works of public utility with the native princes; while roads and canals in their own territories do not meet with the attention they deserve. It is a long established custom in India to construct public works in sacred places for the benefit of the pilgrims; and these have no doubt their merit from the Hindu point of view, when the question is reflected purely in the light of their religion. But it may be questioned whether the ruler of a State, as the guardian and responsible agent for the comfort and happiness of

his subjects, ought to be allowed to fritter away the public revenue on philanthropic or religious works, the merit of which, according to his own religious teaching, accrues but to himself. In a social point of view, the subject has an equal share in the State revenue with the ruler himself, and after all the items of the State expenditure are paid, the balance ought to be appropriated to measures, which would promote his comfort and well being. This can only be secured by promoting his social and intellectual advancement, by establishing educational institutions, and giving free and liberal instruction to the unlettered ;—by constructing good roads for the lame, the blind, the infirm traveller, for the poor man who carries a load on his head, for the distressed widow who carries half a dozen children with her, and for the wretched cart-driver who drives a pair of famished bullocks, wearied and fatigued by the constant strain to overcome the obstructions of rock and sand, of depressions and prominences of the road, which hinder the progress of his vehicle. Regarded financially, roads, bridges, and canals are the pioneers of trade and commerce, and consequently the forerunners of wealth and civilization.

The department of public instruction under a native government is another subject, which is worthy of notice here. It is a notorious fact that Hindu rulers are invariably supporters of education, and are often unusually attached to men of learning and genius who reside at their courts. An astronomer, a logician, or a bard meets with that

reception from a Hindu prince, which in other countries would be awarded to ministers and plenipotentiaries. The Peishwas of Puna, and the Rajahs of Joyapoor, Jodhpur, and Udyapur ever took a delight in the influx of learned Brahmins, who formerly used to crowd to their courts from the different parts of India; and the extensive grants in land, which have been assigned to some pandits for their provision, prove beyond a doubt that the Hindu princes truly appreciated the merits of education. It used to be a custom in Rajputana that a Brahmin, when he finished his education, was presented to his ruler by the court pandits; and after being publicly examined before the assembly of learned men and State officers, a title, approaching the meaning of the University degrees of Europe, was conferred upon him, and a pension granted for his maintenance. The educational grants in native States are generally given in jagirs, and in few and rare cases, the schoolmaster's bill is paid from the treasury. The general education of the people at present being simply instruction in the Hindu language, a Brahmin in each village has a Patshala of his own, which is supported partly by the State grant, and partly by fees received from the pupils and attended by boys of the Brahmin, Rajput, Veysha, and Sudra castes, and sometimes by the village Mahomedan boys as well. The education imparted in this institution is the reading and writing of Hindu, with arithmetic and letter writing. But in cities and towns throughout Rajputana, the

better class of Brahmins study Sanskrita, and the Kshatryas and sometimes the Veyshas also; whilst the Kyeths and Mahomedans, as in other parts of India, acquire an education in the Urdu and Persian languages. These educational institutions, whether Sanskrita or Hindu, Urdu or Persian, are supported by the State. The pandit maintains his bidyalya from the income of the land, which has been assigned to himself or his ancestors; and the Moulvi obtains the means of his livelihood from a similar source as the Brahmin, besides the fees he collects from his pupils. In some States, schools and colleges have also been established for the study of the English language, and these institutions are largely attended by the sons of the nobility and gentry, who have commenced to appreciate the benefits of an English education.

It will be a material defect in the execution of the object of this paper, if we were to omit to mention the political relation of the British Government with the native States, and the functions of the British representatives who reside at the court of Native princes. But before entering into the details of this subject, it must be stated in justice to the political officers, that the outside public who occasionally talk and write upon the subject, greatly underrate the duties and responsibilities of our political agents, which, if impartially judged and carefully enquired into on the spot, would be found as onerous and delicate as those of any office in India. And, perhaps, no branch of the public service re-

quires the exercise of so much tact, or entails so great a trial of temper and judgment, as the situation of a political officer in a native State. The British Government, as paramount power in India and amongst its protected allies of Rajputana, deemed it necessary, on the first conclusion of treaties with the native powers, to appoint a British officer in each State as the medium of communication between the Supreme Government and its feudatories; as the friend and disinterested adviser of the latter, and a check against the intrigues and machinations of the courtiers and nobles by whom they are surrounded. It has been said above that the duties of a political officer are both onerous and delicate; that they are not easy is proved by the failure of many men of undoubted ability who have been engaged on political missions. May we state what, in our opinion, has constituted the cause of such failure?

May not the reason be, that a British political officer in his mission to an Asiatic court is guided by his Christian impulses of right and wrong; his cherished notions and convictions of the law of nations, the rights of sovereigns and princes, and the duties and responsibilities of a plenipotentiary as taught in the European school of politics;—whilst the intrigues of the Asiatic courtiers, the one-sided policy of its rulers, and the nonfulfilment of their pledges and promises, set at naught all the tact and ingenuity of the British politicals? The Indian public, meanwhile, always impatient for a speedy and successful termination of a foreign policy,

weighs the acts of a diplomatist in the scale of hope, which ever longs for success, and is never accustomed to receive in its balance the reverse of its wishes, however impracticable the final issue of it may be. The position of a public functionary in a diplomatic capacity in India is more delicate than it is in Europe. His situation becomes doubly difficult when his deeds and actions become the subject of public criticism. These remarks do not apply to the Rajputana politicals, who, as British agents deputed to inland protected States, guide the helm of their respective ships in a calm and untroubled sea, unaccustomed to the waves and storms which hazarded the political vessel of a Macnaghten or a Malcolm. But peaceful as the mission of a Rajputana political is, it is not devoid of the interest which attaches itself to similar functions in other countries of the world, nor does it demand the less exercise of discretion and judgment, than is necessary in the remote allied States, and never do the actions of these officers escape public comment, when they commit the least error in the discharge of their duties. But it may be inquired, what are the main duties of our political agents, and how far have they succeeded in the performance of them ? We would reply that a political agent has manifold duties to perform. He is the president of the court of vakeels, established for the purpose of deciding cases of inter-jurisdictional disputes : he is the channel of communication between the British Government and the native prince, and the adviser of the latter in the

administration of his State: he is also the referee in all differences between the chief and his nobles and courtiers. In his capacity of president of the court of vakeels, he has to decide a large number of cases annually, and this alone is enough to occupy the time of an active and intelligent officer. Although aided by his coadjutors, the native vakeels of the different States, the political agent is the soul and substance of this court; without his constant supervision it would become corrupt and stagnant like other institutions in the hands of the natives. As the medium of communication between the native government and the Viceroy and his local representative, the agent of the Governor-General, the political agent has to conduct a large amount of correspondence daily both in English and Vernacular. In his capacity of adviser to the native ruler, he has to pay one or more State visits to him in a week, besides the weekly or fortnightly inspection of the Jail and the Educational Institutions. His house is a regular thoroughfare from early morning to four o'clock in the evening, and men of all sections of native society, and of all shades of life, resort to him for advice and assistance in their respective affairs. It has almost grown to be a fashion among the gentry of Rajputana to keep up a constant intercourse with the British representative; and for this reason, many Thakurs, and others, resort to the house of the political agent, even for matters of no great moment. The prince himself encroaches much upon the time of the political agent, by constantly send-

ing for him, and asking his opinion and advice in almost every measure which he undertakes for the administration of his State. This increased confidence of the people and their chief in the advice of the British agent, reveals to us a state of things which could at the outset scarcely have been hoped for: which even the originators of the policy of appointing political officers in native States, did not, perhaps, fully anticipate at the time. It is highly gratifying to see that a Rajput prince, whose ancestors studiously avoided the advent of the Mahomedan dignitaries and princes of the blood of the house of Delhi into their territories, even on the occasion of hunting excursions, does, of his free will and accord, invite the agent of the Governor-General to his court; and when that officer's time is occupied with other more important business, that the prince himself should travel miles from his own territory for an interview with him, and candidly ask his advice on State matters. It can be easily inferred from the above how it tends to the advantage of the Hindu princes, and the credit of the British name and the British Government that such appointments should be well filled. We have often heard many old and thoughtful Rajputs remark, that the integrity and the sense of responsibility of the British officers are the grounds of the stability of the British Empire in the East, and the source of the prosperity and advancement of the nation. The political agent renders an invaluable service to a native state when the prince is a minor, and the

administration of the Government is conducted by a regency council under his directions. In this instance many an officer has given English education to the minor princes, established English schools in their States, and greatly reformed their judicial and revenue administrative system, a service which has been duly appreciated by the princes themselves, when they have arrived at the age of discretion, and taken in their own hands the reins of Government.

The general administration of a native government, for the last thirty years, has assumed a sober and enlightened tone, theoretically, not far behind that of an ordinary civilized modern State. Whether we look at its revenue system, or its judicial courts, its police, or its army, we find everywhere traces of system and order based upon the laws and customs of the country, and evincing a good administration. Whether we look to the flourishing shop of the bunnia, the well cultivated field of the ryot, or the beautifully planted garden of the mali, our eye meets everywhere marks of the happiness and prosperity of the people. In cities and towns, in the midst of squares, and bazaars, the banker sits with the same ease and contentment of mind with his iron chest loaded with gold and silver coins and his writing box containing cheques, notes, drafts, and hundies, as he would do in the British cities of Delhi and Agra. The confectioner has the same flourishing and attractive shop as his brethren of Benares and Allahabad, and the artizan produces

the same fancy articles as the members of his craft in other parts of the country. The carpenter works with his chisel with the same independence of spirit, as his race throughout India ; and the blacksmith beats his anvil, and sings his ballad, in a mood of mind equally expressive of happiness and contentment. In a word, security of life and property in a native State is not less than it is in the British districts ; and forced labour is to the full as restricted in the one as in the other. The feudal lords in the districts, and the officers and ministers in the seat of Government, who, in former times, often lived at variance with their prince, now execute his orders and mandates with a care and punctuality indicative of a thorough spirit of discipline. The money lender, who in olden times used to oppress, torture, enslave, and sell his insolvent debtor, has been taught to realize his money by the legitimate means of the Civil Court. The criminal, who, sixty years ago, if convicted of a crime, would have lost some of his limbs, now obtains food and clothing within the precincts of a Jail, as well as medicine and medical attendance when the state of his health requires it. The administration of a Hindu prince has likewise its other phase, which in some respects is so mild and humane that it excels all the theory of humanity of a Christian Government. The poor and the infirm, the lame and the blind, obtain full subsistence from the State alms-houses, and the widows and orphans of respectable but destitute families are provided with the means of living from

the public treasury. The defaulting ryot is not dealt with so unceremoniously as under the British laws, nor is he at once ousted from his field as in the British provinces under the permanent settlement.

It may be asked, perhaps, how this change for the better administration of a native State has come on so suddenly and within so short a period. The question may be at once answered by a few comprehensive sentences; first, by the able supervision of our political officers; secondly, by the example of the liberal administration of the British districts which environ the protected States on all sides; thirdly, by the gradual infusion of a better *morale* into the minds of our Hindu princes themselves, partly by English education, and partly by intercourse with British officers and other foreigners; and lastly, by the fostering care of that paternal Government, which for India's good, holds the paramount sway of the empire from the Khyber Pass to Adam's Bridge. The present generation is somewhat inclined to the idea of constant change and radical reform. " *Whilst admitting the principle of effecting progressive but gradual improvements in the system of native administration—for progress to be permanent must be gradual,—we conscientiously believe that it is of all things most necessary that the existing relation of the native States with the paramount power should continue, as it is, without interruption; for it is by virtue of the connexion as it now exists, that the Hindu princes will appreciate more and more the social, moral, and political benefits which*

they derive by an alliance with the representative in Asia of European civilization, and that they will be kept in constant remembrance of the duties and responsibilities with which it has pleased the Great Dispenser of events to entrust them."

TANJORE, ITS MAHRATTA CONQUEST AND CONQUERORS.

CHAPTER III.

"*From the Ranas of Cheitore sprang the Ranas of Oudepoor,* universally admitted to be the oldest family in Hindoostan; and *from them*, according to the legend quoted, it is pretended that the *founder of the Mahratta nation, as hitherto known to us, drew his lineage*"—GRANT DUFF.[1]

OF the Mahratta dynasty of Tanjore we have no authentic records. It lasted about 176 years. The Princes of this line trace their origin to Shahjee the Great. The Mahrattas first established themselves as a leading power at Satara and Kolapore on the Western Coast, and subsequently at Tanjore on the Eastern Coast. It will be seen that a close connection was kept up by these Principalities by marriages of the two royal houses. The Princes of Tanjore marrying the daughters of the Chiefs of Satara and Kolapore.

The hardy warriors of the western mountains, when they settled down on the quiet plains of the south, had no enemies to contend against. The country they obtained, through easy treachery, they had a wealthy people to rule over and a rich province to support them, and in process of time they sunk into listlessness and luxury.

To go back to their history a little.[1] The first Mahratta chief of note was Shahjee the Great, who

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[1] History of the Mahrattas.

had founded a kingdom on the Western Coast of Hindustan, and extending his territorial jurisdiction, entered the Carnatic in A. D. 1637. He was married to Jeejee Bye, the daughter of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, by whom he had two sons, Sumbhajee and Sevajee.

The principal Mahratta chief in the service of the Ahmednuggur State was Jadow Rao, Deshmookh of Sindkheir, supposed with much probability to have been a descendant of the Rajah of Deagurh. No Mahratta family was so powerful as the Jadows. Lookhjee Jadow Rao, in the end of the sixteenth century, held a Jagheer, under the Nizam Shahee government, for the support of ten thousand horse.

There was, likewise, a respectable Mahratta family, surnamed Bhonslay, which first rose into notice under the Ahmednuggur government. They are said to have held several Patelships; but their principal residence was at the village of Verole, near Dowlutabad. Babjee Bhonslay had two sons, the elder named Mallojee, and the younger Wittoojee. Mallojee was early married to Deepa Bye, the sister of Wungojee, or Jugpal Rao Naick Nimbalkur, Deshmookh of Phultun. At the age of twenty-five, in the year A.D. 1577, by the interest of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, he was entertained in the service of Mortiza Nizam Sha, with a small party of horse, of which he was the proprietor. He had no children for many years, which is considered a great misfortune among Hindus. He was a rigid votary of the

deity Mahdeo, and the goddess Dewee Bhowanee, of Tooljapoor, was the Koolswamy of his family; but both deities had been invoked in vain to grant an heir. A celebrated Mahomedan saint or *peer*, named Shah Shureef, residing at Ahmednuggur, was engaged to offer up prayers to this desirable end; and Mallojee's wife having shortly after given birth to a son, in gratitude to the peer's supposed benediction, the child was named after him, *Shah*, with the Mahratta adjunct of respect, *jee*; and in the ensuing year, a second son was in like manner named Shureefjee. Shahjee was born in A.D. 1594.

Mallojee Bhonslay was an active Silladar, and had acquitted himself so well in various duties intrusted to him, that he began to attain distinction. He had by some means made an addition to his small body of horse, and was always much noticed by his first patron Jadow Rao. His elder son Shahjee was a remarkably fine boy; and on the occasion of the celebration of the Hoolee festival in the year A.D. 1599, when Shahjee was five years old, he accompanied his father to the house of Jadow Rao. It is usual for all castes of Hindus to meet on that occasion, at the residence of some principal person, on the fifth day of the festival; and when there is any footing of intimacy, the children often accompany their fathers to the place of assembly. Shahjee, on this occasion, was noticed by Jadow Rao, who good naturedly called the boy towards him, and seated him beside his daughter named Jeejee, a pretty child of three or four years old. The children began to play

together, when Jadow Rao, in the joy of his heart, thoughtlessly asked his daughter, 'well, girl, wilt thou take this boy as thy husband?' and turning round to the company, observed in the same strain, 'they are a fine pair.' The children, at this time, happening to throw some of the red colour at each other, which is a common amusement on this festival, the circumstance occasioned a great deal of laughter in the assembly. This mirth, however, was disturbed by Mallojee Bhonslay's rising up and saying, 'take notice, friends, Jadow has this day become a contracting party with me in marriage;' to which some of those present assented; but Jadow seemed astonished, and was mute.

Affecting to treat what had passed as a mere joke, Jadow Rao next day asked Mallojee to a dinner, but he declined the invitation, unless Jadow would formally recognize Shahjee as his son-in-law. This Jadow Rao peremptorily refused; and his wife, being a proud woman of high spirit, was very indignant at his having, even in jest, matched her daughter with such a person as the son of Mallojee Bhonslay. Mallojee appears, however, to have been crafty and persevering, little scrupulous about the means employed, so that his end could be obtained. He retired to his village, where it is pretended that the goddess Bhawanee, having appeared to him discovered a large treasure; at all events he and his brother Wittoojee became possessed of money in some secret manner, which in that troubled period of the Nizam Shahee government, during the first

years of the seventeenth century, was probably by robbery. Their confidant, as to the fact of possessing the money, was a soucar or banker of Chumargoondee, named Sashao Naick Poonday, in whose hands the cash was deposited. But, according to Mahratta legend, the discovery of this treasure was merely a means which the goddess afforded to effect what she had, on first appearing, declared to Mallojee; namely, that 'there shall be one of thy family who shall become a king: he shall be endowed with the qualities and attributes of Sambh; he shall re-establish and preserve justice in Mahrashtra, and remove all that molest Brahmins, and violate the temples of the gods; his reign shall form an epoch, and his posterity shall mount the throne for twenty-seven generations.'

Mallojee employed his fortune in the purchase of horses, and in the popular works of digging tanks, building wells, and endowing various temples; but he was not diverted from his favourite scheme of being connected with the family of Jadow Rao. Jugpal Naick Nimbalkur of Phultun, the brother of Deepa Bye, Mallojee's wife, warmly interested himself to promote the proposed marriage of his nephew. Wealth too, at a falling court, like that of Ahmednuggur, could procure anything; and as Jadow Rao's objection was now confined merely to Mallojee's rank, this was soon obviated, by his being raised to the command of five thousand horse, with the title of Mallojee Rajah Bhonslay. The forts of Sewneree and Chakun, with their dependent districts,

were likewise placed in his charge; and the Pergunnas of Poona and Sopa made over to him in Jagheer. Thus every obstacle being removed, Jadow Rao had no longer an excuse for not performing what he was urged to by his sovereign. The marriage of Shahjee to Jeejee Bye was celebrated with great pomp, and was honoured by the presence of the Sultan.

By Tooka Bye Mohitay,* his second wife, Shahjee had one son, Venkajee. Sumbhajee, the elder son of the first marriage, was his father's favourite, and accompanied him, from early infancy, in all his excursions, and was killed in the Carnatic, but the younger son, Sevajee, remained with his mother.

Sevajee was born in the Fort of Sewneree, in the month of May A. D. 1627; and during the turbulent period in which his childhood was passed, he had frequently escaped, by his mother's vigilance, from falling into the hands of their Mahomedan enemies. It is not known where he was concealed when his mother was made prisoner; but it is probable her release was obtained on the plea of her husband's neglect, and the disgrace, which many of the relations, both Jadows and Bhonslays in the Mogul service, would conceive attached to themselves.

After the death of Shahjee, his kingdom was divided into two parts; those on the Western coast, falling to the share of Sevajee, went by the name of the kingdoms of Satara and Kolapore, and those

* Another Mahratta Chieftain family, rising then fast into importance. The Bhonslays and Mohitays were united together by intermarriages.

on the Eastern coast falling to the lot of Venkajee went by the name of the kingdom of Tanjore. In course of time these kingdoms separated and became distinct principalities,[1] being ruled by the sons and grandsons of Shahjee.

We are informed that the dissensions between Tara Bye, the man queen of Kolapore, and her nephew,led to a division of interests; and Sumbhajee, the half brother of her son Raja Ram, having secured the fort of Panalla near Kolapore, kept possession of the southern tracts, in spite of Sahoojee; till at length his title to a separate kingdom, as the descendant of Sevajee's younger son, was admitted, and a partition treaty was drawn up on the 26th April 1731, which is in possession of His Highness the Rajah of Satara. This treaty, it will be seen, marks nearly an equal division of the Mahratta dominions at that time; leaving the rivers Varna and Kistna as the defined boundary of the two kingdoms of Kolapore and Satara.[2]

Thus were the Mahratta Principalities split into three kingdoms, viz., Satara, Kolapore and Tanjore.[3]

It must be remembered that Venkajee was always employed with his father Shahjee in the Carnatic, and accompanied him on his visit to Sevajee among the ghauts in A. D. 1662; after which he seems to have returned to the Carnatic, where he was when Sevajee overran it in A. D. 1677. In this

1 Early History of Satara.—BRIGGS.

2 Bhonslays of Satara.—FRERE.

3 Genealogical Table of the Mahratta Kings of Satara, Kolapore and Tanjore.

expedition one of Sevajee's professed objects was to claim his share of his father's property from his half brother Venkajee. The latter was at first prepared to resist by force, but ultimately visited his brother. He, however, denied the right of the latter to any share in their property in the Carnatic. Sevajee at one time contemplated confining him, till he gave up half the Jagheers and personal property, but ultimately abandoned the idea, as inconsistent with his own character as a brother and a prince, and allowed Venkajee to return to Tanjore. He, however, overran and laid under contribution all the Jagheers which his father had held in Mysore. At this time Sevajee grounded his claims to half his father's property in the Carnatic, on the assertion it was not mere territory but his inheritance (wutam), which he was in honour bound not to abandon.

In A. D. 1678, after Sevajee had returned northwards, Venkajee attacked the troops his brother had left in the Carnatic, and was repulsed with great loss. On hearing of this, Sevajee wrote him a long and very sensible letter, pointing out the folly of discord and the necessity of union, and offering peace on condition of Venkajee's giving up to him the whole of their father's possession in the Carnatic. Ultimately an arrangement was made, whereby Venkajee agreed to pay down a considerable sum, and divide their father's jewels and share the revenue of his Carnatic territory. Sevajee then allowed him to retain Tanjore, and gave him back the Mysore Jagheers.

Just previous to his death, in A. D. 1680, Sevajee had exacted from the Bejapore Government, as the price of his alliance, the cession of all claims of sovereignty over the Carnatic and Tanjore districts. This dreaded supremacy thus acquired by his brother, so mortified Venkajee that he neglected his affairs and gave himself up to melancholy, which drew from Sevajee a letter* full of energy and good sense, one of the last he ever dictated. On Sevajee's death Venkajee withdrew all share of tribute from his nephew Sumbhajee, and in A. D. 1687 an expedition was planned by the latter to enforce his claims, but it seems to have been unsuccessful.

From this time there does not appear to have been much connection kept up between the States of Tanjore and Satara. The territory of the former is stated to have been laid under contribution by the Emperor's army in A. D. 1696, from which it may be inferred that Venkajee's son, then on the Tanjore Musnud, was co-operating with his Satara countrymen against Aurungzebe. From the death of Tookajee, Venkajee's son, then on the Tanjore Musnud, the real power of the State appears to have been vested in a Mahomedan officer who commanded the Fort of Tanjore up to A. D. 1741; but of the subsequent history of Tanjore, little is to be gleaned from the Satara records, or published histories of the Mahratta State.

* Copy of this letter is preserved by Duff in his 'Mahratta History,' Vol. I., p. 213.

Following up the Tanjore manuscripts, *Venkajee* was the first who sat on the throne of Tanjore, and was succeeded by his son *Yekojee* in A. D. 1676, who reigned eight years and died in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He had three sons; Shajee, Serbojee and Tookojee. Before his death, Yekojee bequeathed his kingdom to his eldest son Shajee; to his second son he left the kingdom of Sokottee, a district two miles south of Combaconum; and to his third son, he presented the town of Mahadevaputtanum, forty miles south of Tanjore.

In A. D. 1684, *Shajee* began to reign. He is said to have improved the palace, erected a beautiful throne-room, built the choultries at the four gates of the Fort, chuttrums for the accommodation of the poor and hospitals for the sick, and sent out for physicians so far as Hyderabad and Arabia. He also established civil and criminal courts of justice; and having no issue, he bequeathed his kingdom to his brother Serbojee.

Serbojee reigned in A.D. 1711, and turned his attention to improve the revenues of the country. He was a warrior and fought some battles. He married into the Mahratta families of Satara, viz., the Chiefs of Gatcay, Sirkay, and Mohitay. And, having no issue, he was succeeded by his brother *Tookojee,* who reigned from A.D. 1729 to 1736. Tookojee was a great linguist. There is a story current, that a fakeer of Arabia presented this prince with two swords, called *Neygini* and *Pathmany,* possessing miraculous influences. The swords are now preserved in the

Madras Museum. On his death, his son *Aycojee Rajah,* who was commonly called *Baba Saib,* succeeded him and reigned from A.D. 1736 to 1737, on whose demise his son Prethap Sim or Prethap Sing being a minor, his mother *Seejan Bye* acted as regent for the next three years, from A. D. 1737 to 1740. She is described as a charitable woman. During the interregnum, the Nabob of Arcot exercised great influence over Tanjore, much to the inconvenience of the reigning queen. A distant relation of the late Rajah, taking advantage of the state of affairs, intrigued with the prime minister and dethroned Seejan Bye. The usurper was *Shahjee* or *Shahojee,* commonly called *Kattoo Rajah.* He reigned from A. D. 1740 to 1741. He was stabbed by the Mahomedan minister of the Nabob of Arcot, for an insult offered him; who placed upon the throne *Prethap Sing.* He reigned from A. D. 1741 to 1765. But the minister Syd Side had the full management of the Government, and his tyrannies brought about his untimely death. He was murdered, and was buried on the northern bank of the Vadavar, where a large Muntapum still marks the spot of his interment, and is called Syd Ghori. Prince Prethap Sing devoted his time and talents to the improvement of his kingdom. He established eighteen Zemindaries, and is said to have repaired the temples at Combaconum and Chellambrum. He built palaces at Combaconum, Trivellore, Madura, Ramasweram and Trenamalai. He is said to have had a wholesome dread of Feringhees, looking upon them as

notoriously bad characters; and imposed a payment of five fanams on any European who entered his territory. He established a toll gate* for this purpose, which money was collected as a guarantee for peaceful behaviour, and was paid back to the giver on his returning the ticket, on leaving his territory. Prince Prethap Sing had two sons, the name of the first was Tooljajee Rajah, and the name of the second Amarasimma Rajah, or Ameer Sing. In A. D. 1765, Prethap Sing Rajah died, and was succeeded by his son *Tooljajee Rajah,* who reigned up to A. D. 1788, and was succeeded by his brother *Amarasimma,* whose succession being illegal, he was deposed by the British Government in A. D. 1798. To him succeeded *Serfojee,* the adopted son of Tooljajee Rajah. *He was one of the best of the Mahratta rulers of Tanjore.* He reigned thirty-five years, and was succeeded by his son Maha Rajah *Sevajee,* who reigned A. D. 1833 to 1855. With him the independence of the Tanjore Mahratta dynasty was forced to terminate in A. D. 1857, by the ruthless hand of Annexation.

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* The dilapidated walls of this toll-gate still remain.

CHAPTER IV.

"I have seen many *crowned heads*, but not one, whose *deportment was more princely*." BISHOP HEBER.[1]

THE name of Robert de Nobilibus[2] will be lastingly associated with the first spread of Christianity in Southern India. It must be admitted, however, that he, his associates, and successors aimed at high game. They forgot, apparently, that the beginnings of Christ's manifestations of saving grace, were directed to the poor. With preaching and persuasion, these teachers adopted a questionable policy. They sought for converts among the heaven-born of India; they addressed themselves to the Priesthood—the Brahmins. To quote a graphic Writer[3]—'They had studied, and they understood the native languages; they made themselves familiar with, and were ready to adopt the habits and customs of the natives. They called themselves *Western Brahmins*, and in the disguise of Brahmins, they mixed themselves with the people; talking their language, following their customs, and countenancing their superstitions. Clothed in the Sacerdotal yellow cloth, with the mark of sandal wood on their foreheads, their long hair streaming

1 Last days of Bishop Heber, by Archdeacon Robinson.

2 Known in India as Thathuva Bóthagur, தத்துவபோதகர், *i.e.*, Teacher of truth.

3 India as it ought to be, by Major W. Hough.

down their backs, their copper vessels in their hands, their wooden-sandals on their feet, these new Brahmins found acceptance among the people, and were welcomed by the Princes of Southern India. They performed their ablutions with scrupulous regularity, they ate no animal food, they drank no intoxicating liquors, but found in the simple fare of vegetables and milk, at once a disguise and a protection against their doubtful course of action. The Christian had appeared among the highest castes of India eating and drinking, gluttonous and wine bibbers, and they had paid the penalty of an addiction to these feverish stimulants under the burning copper skies of the east.'

Their success among the Brahmins was very small, and these Missionaries soon began to see the necessity of seeking converts, from among the lower orders. They went among the villagers, condescended to Pariahs, and achieved great triumphs over the humblest classes of the people. But in time these new Brahmins were discovered to be only Feringhees in disguise, and the natives consequently rejected with contempt their ministrations.

About the commencement of the seventeenth century, the Danes were first established at Tranquebar, and commenced the work of evangelization themselves, in India, about the opening of the eighteenth century. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutscho arrived at Tranquebar in the year A. D. 1706, under the patronage of Frederick IV. of Denmark. These missionaries' efforts were also

patronized by England,[1] even by its royalty. 'It is the glory of these Danish missionaries that they were the first to attempt the conversion of the natives of India by means of the translation of the scriptures and the education of youths.' In pursuance of this object they founded schools. The French and English wars presented many obstacles and difficulties in their way.

This brings us down to the time of Christian Frederick Swartz. In the annals of Tanjore history, the name of Swartz the missionary, and Surfojee the prince, are closely entwined ; so that the biography of the one might in all respects be considered the biography of the other; and if we were to trace up the life and acts of Surfojee as a ward, a private individual, and a prince, we would only, in other words, be giving a picture of the influences of Christianity in her revered missionary, over a royal personage ; and its workings developed, in words as well as actions, in an individual thoroughly imbued with its principles. In the life of the venerable missionary Swartz, we find it recorded, that the Rajah Tooljajee held him in such estimation, as *to listen to his advice in all matters, as a son would to the counsel of his father; that he granted the Christians support, protection, and privileges; and that when by domestic misfortunes, it became necessary for him to adopt an heir to the throne, the Rajah pointing to his newly adopted son, addressed the Christian Missionary in these following remarkable words—'This is not my son,*

1 Vide Appendix A.

*but yours; into your hands I deliver him;' and further, 'I appoint you guardian to the child, I intend to give him over to your care,' or literally 'to put his hands into yours.'**

Mr. Swartz at the time refused to undertake so responsible a duty,[1] and suggested that his uncle Ameer Sing, who had been appointed Regent, should be nominated guardian to the infant heir. But subsequently, the harsh and unjust treatment which the widows of the late Rajah and his adopted successor experienced from the Regent, induced the British Government, by the advice of Mr. McLeod, the Commissioner, to appoint Mr. Swartz guardian to the young Prince Surfojee, whereby the child was secure of the protection of the Government, which he so very greatly needed. In addition to this maladministration of the affairs of the Rajah Tooljajee, the jealousy and animosity of Ameer Sing towards the widows of his late brother, as well as towards the heir to the throne in Surfojee, continued unabated; and matters had proceeded to such lengths that the British Government were constrained at last to interfere. The historian of the time informs us, that in consequence of the death of his son-in-law, the husband of his only child, Ameer Sing in his unbounded sorrow, and disappointment in his hope of obtaining any offspring to succeed him on the throne, ascribed his

* Surfojee was adopted on the 22nd January 1787, when Sir Archibald Campbell was Governor of Madras.

1 The Missionary's first reply was 'May this child become a child of God.'

loss to witchcraft, and charged the widows of the late Rajah, his brother, with having compassed their wicked design by means of a magician. He further charged them with conspiring against his own life, and after condemning the Pujari, or magician, to be hanged for the alleged witchcraft, he caused a proclamation to be publicly read under the windows of the Bye Sahib's residence, accusing them of instigating the wretched man to this astrocious crime. But all this while, the Regent himself was guilty of the villainous trick of causing a quantity of chillies and other such stuff to be burnt under the windows of Surfojee's apartments, whereby he and all his attendants were nearly suffocated to death. Other instances of persecution and annoyance are described in the subjoined letter from the prince to his guardian Swartz, in which the circumstances are mentioned with such simplicity and artlessness, as to leave no room for doubting their truth. 'I will not,' he writes, 'again explain the various vexations which I have hitherto suffered from Ameer Sing, Maha Rajah, because you know them, and have mentioned them to Government. Though the Government has often admonished Ameer Sing to behave friendly to me, he has disregarded all expostulations. That *I still live, I owe to the kindness of Government.* I will only mention one of the last grievances caused by Ameer Sing. Sultan Bye Sahib behaved to me as a mother, from my infancy. Upon her recent death I wished to honor her by performing the funeral rites ; but as the Governor and Council determined

that Ameer Sing should fulfil that duty, I was quiet. As he insisted upon it, he should have performed it, but instead of this he sent a hired man, and he himself went out of the Fort as soon as the corpse was carried away, which disrespect grieved me very much. He continues to torment us. My teachers he prevents from coming to me. My servants he confines, so that hardly any one will stay with me; when a merchant comes to sell cloth to me, the merchant and his cloth are detained. I could mention many things more; but why should I trouble you with all my grievances. I entreat you to send this my letter to the Honorable Board and to beseech them either to call me to Madras, which I heartily wish, or to put a guard of Europeans near the gate to protect me and my two mothers, or to give me a room *out of the Fort*, in your garden. I *entreat you* to lay my grief before your Honorable Board. Now *they can help me, and I trust that they will protect me.*'

This letter shows at once the implicit confidence which the young prince placed in the professions of friendship and in the principles of honor, probity and justice which had hitherto characterized the British Government in this land. The venerable missionary to whom the above letter was addressed corroborates the statement of Surfojee, and expressed his fears regarding the issue of the treatment which the young prince had undergone, and was undergoing from Ameer Sing, and he consequently urged strongly on the Madras Government, the immediate

necessity, of adopting prompt measures for the remedy of the evils complained of by the young prince, and for securing to him safety, comfort, and health. The entire faith and trust which the prince and his family had, in the honor of the British Government, and the sure hope they felt, that the rulers of this country would hold inviolate the promise they had made, and would unhesitatingly redeem the pledges they had given, of protecting the late Rajah's family, and securing intact all their privileges; will appear manifest from the fact, that the Bye Sahibs adopted a plan of escape, sought for by the adopted heir himself, and which was so contrary in many respects, to the moral and social habits of Hindu females. A detachment of the Company's troops, under the superintendence of Mr. Swartz, accomplished the removal of Surfojee, and the widows from the palace of the late Rajah without occasioning the least disturbance. The young prince and his relatives soon afterwards left Tanjore, and accompanied by their faithful friend and protector, reached the presidency. Every effort for their detention had been made by Ameer Sing, but happily without success. That prince dreaded an exposure of his proceedings against these ladies, and the adopted heir to the throne. He rightly judged that, once at the presidency town, and the seat of Government, they would not lose the opportunity of declaring their grievances, and seeking revenge against the wrong-doer. And so we find that the widows of the late Rajah, and Mr. Swartz as guardian to the young

prince, addressed the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, on the subject of their wrongs.

After an unaccountable delay of four years, the matter was brought to a conclusion. It would appear, that when in A. D. 1793 the validity of Surfojee's succession to the musnud was called in question by Ameer Sing, Sir Archibald Campbell paid Tanjore a visit, and convened a meeting of twelve Pundits, who declared the adoption of the prince to be invalid. The matter was therefore decided in favour of Ameer Sing. In referring to this matter in his subsequent letter to the Marquis Cornwallis, Swartz after giving some sketch of the history of Surfojee, from the period of his adoption, to that of his removal to Madras, thus proceeds.[1] 'As I knew nothing of their Shastras, and the whole business was done so quickly, I was silent, for which I blame myself, for these Pundits ought to have given a proof from the Shastras to vindicate the justice of their opinion, but nothing of this kind was done. When I afterwards read the translation of the Hindu laws which were published in Bengal, I was astonished, when I found that those Pundits had acted a base part. Your Lordship wished to have authentic proofs of their having been bribed, five of them, who formerly had no office, are taken into the Rajah's service, others have fields which they would immediately lose, if they confessed. One of them is here, who declared that hope and fear influenced him, that *he was conscious of having done wrong ;*' but he said,

1 Memoirs of C. F. Swartz, by Hugh Pearson.

'as the present Rajah, before he was proclaimed, was already in the possession of the country and treasure, every one had hopes and fears. You had no reason to expect a just decision from us under these circumstances. *His money has made him King;* but if you desire us to confess publicly, you must protect us publicly.' 'This is in some degree confirmed,' proceeds Swartz, 'by a declaration which the present Rajah made in the presence of Mr. DeSouza, a Portuguese gentleman, Sir Archibald Campbell's dubash, Shevaram, and myself, at the time when Mr. Petrie was sent to Tanjore to oblige the Rajah to pay his arrears. The Rajah then said, *"If they press me too much I will reveal all and raise a storm over all England. For they have all got money from me, except Mr. Swartz."* 'Whether those who were then present would choose to confirm this declaration I know not, but I can confirm it in the most solemn and awful manner,' adds Mr. Swartz.

'The present Rajah has made three objections to Surfojee's adoption which some Pundits, at the desire of the late Rajah's family have answered, I beg leave to send all those answers taken from the Shastra. As the present Rajah has requested that no stranger might be admitted to his palace and Government, that your Lordship may be convinced that Surfojee is no stanger, but has a right to the Government of the country, not only on account of his having been adopted, but even on account of his birth, I beg leave to send your Lordship his pedigree. Whether these my reflections, which I

have made with a conscientious regard to truth, will throw some light upon the whole matter, I leave to your Lordship's better judgment. Having been too silent, when the twelve Pundits gave their opinion, I have written this letter to ease my mind, and, if possible, to benefit my unfortunate pupil. A line from your Lordship on this subject shall be my comfort. In your Lordship's determination I shall cheerfully acquiesce.'

The letter, from which we extract the above, was sent along with another from the widows of Tooljajee, in which, all details respecting the adoption of the young prince were fully given, and the adoption itself, pronounced by these ladies, to have been regular and formal, legal and valid. They also disposed of two objections brought forward by Ameer Sing, namely, the age of the young prince, and the fact of his being the only son. They asserted that the Pundits, who gave their decision in favor of Ameer Sing, were induced to do so from corrupt influence. To prove this assertion, they proposed, that a reference should be made to those Pundits, who had been originally referred to by Tooljajee, when he first declared his intention, of adopting the present heir. Those Pundits, it would appear, had not been consulted by Sir Archibald Campbell, when he investigated the matter. The ladies also suggested, that the Pundits who had repudiated the adoption, should be required to state their grounds of objection, and prove their allegations

from the Shastras. This mode of proceeding, they very justly remarked, would make it clear at once, whether it was gross ignorance which misled them, and so caused others to be deceived by evil influences, which cramped their mind, and warped their judgment.

The ladies further importuned the Governor-General, not to leave India without deciding the matter of the young prince's claims as they apprehended that Ameer Sing would, though at the time without an heir himself, adopt an infant, and so place further obstacles to the prince's accession to the throne. But although the claim of the young prince was brought immediately to the notice, and under the consideration of Government, the necessary delay, in those days, in the transmission of documents from one Presidency to another, did not permit of any settlement, or adjudication taking place, during the administration of Lord Cornwallis. That nobleman had resigned the reins of Government and had been succeeded by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

Complaints, however, continued still to be made against the misrule of Ameer Sing, and the British Government felt themselves bound to interfere in the affairs of Tanjore.

In a minute written by the distinguished ruler just mentioned, after paying a deserved tribute to the high and honorable character of the Venerable Missionary Swartz, he proceeds to observe as follows, regarding the right of the

Company originally to interfere with respect to the succession to Tanjore. 'That the same right called upon them, under existing circumstances, to review the whole subject, and that if it should appear that the decision of Government had been procured by imposition and intrigue, by which the legal heir had been deprived of his right, a declaration to that effect, followed by his substitution, would be more honorable to British justice, and more calculated to promote our political character and interests ; than to suffer the continuance of a usurpation obtained at our hands, by sinister and undue means. It would manifest to the world, that the principle of British justice, is ever true to itself, and that, if those entrusted with its administration should be betrayed into error, (an event not impossible even from the integrity of their own minds) when truth shall have made its way, the hour of retribution must come, and the honor of the British name be completely vindicated. Such a declaration would be in strict conformity with the principles avowed at the time of Ameer Sing's succession, it would be a proof, not only of our justice, but of our liberality, and by converting a temporary success, into a perpetual disgrace, would afford an awful lesson to those who may be disposed to tamper with the integrity of our countrymen.'

Actuated by such noble and worthy principles, the British Government made a full, fair, and impartial investigation, into the subject of succession, and with this view, they called upon the

late Resident, to state all that he knew or believed relative to the right of Ameer Sing to the musnud. This information they intended should be supplementary, to what had already been laid before them, in the documents forwarded by Mr. Swartz, and the widows of the late Rajah. From the Resident's reply it appeared, that soon after the decision in favor of Ameer Sing, opinions and surmises beginning to be very prevalent in Tanjore, as to the legality of his title, he was induced to make various enquiries upon the subject. He found from answers to questions sent privately, to natives well versed in the Hindu laws, that the supposed defects in the adoption of Surfojee, were of no validity, and incapable of being substantiated by authorities from the Shastras; while, on the other hand, many quotations, purporting to be from those sacred books, were produced, which clearly evinced the legality of all the forms of adoption. These passages were furnished by some of the Pundits consulted by the late Rajah, respecting that ceremony, as well as by other learned men; and though the Resident could not verify their genuineness, the presumption was strongly in their favor, from the danger of detection, should he at any time bring them publicly forward.

Upon these grounds, he felt convinced in his own mind, of the validity of the adoption, and this conviction was strengthened, by the circumstances of the various rewards, bestowed by Ameer Sing upon the Pundits, who had given their opinions in favor of

his title. He further remarked, that these opinions were unaccompanied by any authorities from the Shastras; that some of these Pundits were incompetent to assert any thing of their own knowledge upon the subject; and that one of them had actually confessed, and persisted to the hour of his death, in acknowledging, that his answers had been given under undue influence. All this was corroborated by the treatment of Surfojee, while confined in the palace, and which the Resident felt it his duty, to represent to Government, in order, as he emphatically expressed it, 'to save the boy.' Of the severity of this treatment, he mentioned one remarkable proof. About three months after the death of Tooljajee, he and Mr. Swartz were sitting with the Rajah, waiting for Surfojee, who had been desired to attend there. When he made his appearance, '*the child*,' says Mr. Macleod, '*was so dreadfully altered, that though we saw him in his approach down the length of an open colonade, we did not know him, till he came within three or four yards of us; he had become emaciated and dejected to the greatest degree. He was reduced to this deplorable state, by a series of acts which sufficiently evinced, that the intention of those who directed them, was to remove the boy, whose right they considered the only obstacle to the Rajah's quiet possession of the throne.*' 'It was at this crisis,' he adds, 'that Government interposed.'

We have now traced an outline of the antagonistic claims of Surfojee and Ameer Sing, to the throne of Tanjore. 'To the English Government,' says an

impartial and judicious writer, 'the decision of this question, was a matter of comparative indifference, inasmuch as the determination of it, in favor of either party, could not materially affect its interest or influence in the country. It was, therefore, with perfect integrity and impartiality, that this important investigation was undertaken, and the result of it was found to have been regulated, by the clearest and most convincing evidence.'

These details may not all be interesting to the general reader; but it must be remembered, that this was a subject which deeply involved the reputation of the British Government, with respect to a native prince, dependant in a great measure upon its protection for the establishment of his rights.

It would be natural to expect, from the foregoing narrative, that Surfojee, on his accession to the throne, would pay to the Venerable Guardian, the deference of a son, to his father; and would consult him in all matters, of whatever description they might be. Such, we rejoice to state, was indeed the case. And Surfojee, not merely in his *words,* but *in very deed* showed his respectful affection, and fervent gratitude, to the honored Missionary, *at all times and in all seasons.* And when, in the course of nature, the aged Saint was 'gathered to his fathers,' and preparations were being made to convey his remains to that 'bourne whence no traveller returneth,' the funeral was delayed a little, beyond the appointed time, as Surfojee Rajah wished once more to look at him. The afflic-

tion which he suffered, at the loss of the best of his friends, was very affecting. '*He shed a flood of tears over his body and covered it with a gold cloth.*' Those alone can understand the *self-denial* of this royal personage, and appreciate this *noble deed,* who have lived and moved amongst the Hindus, and have seen the dire effects of the demon of caste. *To be in the vicinity of the dead is pollution; to remain in the house where a corpse lies, is the essence of pollution; but to bow down and touch the dead is the intensity of pollution and defilement;* yet did this prince, moved by gratitude and love, brave the indignation, (secret and concealed indeed but strong notwithstanding) which the majority of his subjects, servants, and dependants, must have felt when they beheld the humiliating spectacle of their sovereign, and their ruler, shedding tears over the corpse of the despised Christian, and covering it with a precious and valuable cloth.

It was not *until the death of this venerable Missionary, that his exertions on behalf of the Prince Surfojee were crowned with success.* In the month of June 1798, this important intelligence reached India, and Ameer Sing was formally deposed, and the young Prince raised to the throne. 'On the 28th June, write the Tranquebar Missionaries, the adopted son of the late Rajah of Tanjore was proclaimed king. This prince is under the greatest obligations to the late venerated Swartz, as well as to his fellow-labourers in the English Mission; and we cannot but cherish the pleasing hope, that he will be sensi-

ble of the services thus rendered to him, *and that the Missionary cause, as well as the whole country, will derive lasting advantages from this change.'*

It will be as gratifying to the reader to know, as it is to us to record the fact, that the feelings entertained by the prince towards his late benefactor, were thoroughly genuine; and that it was no mere evanescent ebullition of feeling, which he displayed at the death of his kind friend and father. 'The memory of the just is blessed, and blossoms in the dust' was no vain expression, no empty sentiment. The living paid a just and honorable tribute to the righteous dead, and brought credit upon himself, by his noble and worthy conduct. His friend, though dead, yet spoke; and the wise prince, remembering the sound advice and solemn admonition of his departed councillor, administered the affairs of his Government, with a fair and impartial hand, and thereby evinced his appreciation of those precepts, so faithfully inculcated; and which, having taken deep root, were now bearing fair and precious fruit.

Probably, the persecution which he had endured in the domestic sphere, the hardships he had suffered under the tyranny of his uncle, the privations he experienced, while under the guardianship of one of his own kith and kin, had in a great measure influenced him to bear and forbear with others; to sympathize with the afflicted and distressed, and to heal the wounds of those, who, like him, had been wounded, in the house of their friends. But his sympathy with Christians, and the

ready help he afforded them, showed that there was a strange and impetuous under current, of a nobler and subliner feeling, than that which is awakened, by the mere sight of suffering humanity. When he saw a Christian in want and affliction, doubtless, the form of his much loved preceptor rose up before him, and pleaded the cause of the unfortunate creature before him. Probably too, he heard over again as it were, the godly precepts and sacred doctrine of the holy man, and his soft and dulcet tone, rehearsing to him, the story of *One* who, in the far off land of the despised and persecuted Jew, once trod this sinful earth; went about doing good, and pleased not himself; thereby setting a noble example of self-denial, to Princes and Potentates, whom the Most High has commissioned to be, the Almoners and Dispensers of his bounty; for freely they have received, and therefore freely they must give. Wonderfully prepared therefore by his previous training, under that saintly personage, and having personally undergone the inconveniences of hunger, and discomforts of privation, he felt not only for, but with those, whom misfortune had overtaken, or want was finishing. There was an influence for good in all the teaching of the Apostolic Swartz; and the young prince, while under the tutelage and guidance of that good man, drank in deep of the waters of wisdom, which fertilized the heart of the prince, and produced such fruit as showed, that the impressions made by his precepts were deep, and the results permanent.

A treaty having been concluded with the new Rajah in the following year, in consequence of which the forts of Tanjore were evacuated by the British troops, the English service was discontinued in the Fort Church, but the Rajah permitted the Missionaries to perform the Tamil Service there, and *promised to protect them from all molestation.* Notwithstanding this assurance, no sooner had the British garrison been withdrawn, and the Fort replaced under the sole and absolute authority of the Rajah, when a report prevailed, that it was the intention of Surfojee to take down the Christian Church which had been erected by Swartz ; and rebuild it on the Esplanade. The whole of the small Fort of Tanjore, being holy ground, devoted originally to the purpose of pagoda worship ; together with the extreme anxiety displayed by the Rajah, to efface by extraordinary purifications, all the effects and traces of the pollution, which had been inflicted on the pagoda, for twenty years, by its contact with a European garrison, gave a degree of probability to the report that it induced the Resident, Mr. Torren, to take an opportunity of speaking to the Rajah on the subject. 'I was present as interpreter,' observes Colonel Blackburne (in whose expressive and elegant language has been found the following anecdote equally honorable to the Rajah and the pious Missionary) the interview between the Rjah, and the Resident, when the latter, in course of general and familiar conversation, alluded with as much delicacy as possible, to the supposed intention of His Highness to remove the

Church. The effect on the Rajah was very striking. *He became agitated, his colour heightened; he half rose from his seat, and his first words in answer to the Resident were, indignant reproach to that gentleman, for paying any attention whatever to a calumny, which could be credited by none, but those who were alike ignorant of his disposition and principles, and of the early events of his life.* He eulogized in glowing terms the character and conduct of Mr. Swartz, spoke of his various obligations to the venerable Padree and concluded *in a loud, and somewhat passionate, tone* as follows :— "*So far from pulling down any Church built by Mr. Swartz, I would, if his successors wanted a Church in the Fort, and could not find a convenient spot to build it on, give them a place in my own palace for this purpose.*" 'Although thirty years have passed away since this conversation,' adds the Resident, 'I retain a very lively remembrance of the force of the Rajah's expression, and of the energy of his look and manner, when he spurned the report as a calumny injurious to his honor as a prince, and to his undecaying feelings of grateful and affectionate attachment to his preceptor, benefactor and friend.'

Not long after the death of Mr. Swartz, the Rajah requested the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to send out for a monument of marble, to perpetuate the memory of the late Reverend Father Swartz, and this to manifest the great esteem he had for the character of that great and good

man, and the gratitude he owed him, his father, his friend, the protector and guardian of his youth. Regarding this matter Mr. Gericke, the Missionary, writes, '*No son can have a greater regard for his father than this good Hindu had for Mr. Swartz, and still has for his memory.*'

After the usual preamble, the inscription on the monument proceeds to state 'his (Mr. Swartz) natural vivacity won the affection, as his unspotted probity and purity of life, alike commanded the reverence of the Christian, Mahomedan, and Hindu, for sovereign princes, Hindu and Mahomedan, selected this humble pastor as the medium of political negotiation with the British Government;' and the very marble which records his virtues, was raised by the liberal affection and esteem of the Rajah of Tanjore, Maha Rajah Surfojee.

The group in white marble, of which this beautiful monument is composed, represents in basso-relievo, the death bed of the departing saint, Gericke standing behind him, two native attendants and three children of his school around his bed, and the Hindu Prince at his side, *grasping the hand and receiving the blessing of his dying friend.* For some time the Rajah, unwilling to lose sight of an object which recalled a sight so dear to him, retained this monument in his palace, in the principal saloon of which, amidst the portraits of his ancestors, he had also placed that of Mr. Swartz. It was at length removed to the Church in the inner Fort, the Western end of which it now adorns, where it is hoped it may long

remain 'a striking and gratifying memorial of Christian excellence and of Hindu gratitude and affection.' These feelings are also evinced in the following original lines of rhyme, written by the prince himself, and which, though they will not perhaps bear severe criticism, still show the feelings of genuine esteem and veneration, which glowed in the breast of the Rajah towards his late friend. These lines are as follow, and are inscribed on a granite stone which covers the grave of Swartz in front of the altar, in the Chapel of the Mission garden.

" Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
" Honest, pure, free from disguise ;
" Father of orphans, the widows' support,
" Comfort in sorrow of every sort
" To the benighted dispenser of light,
" Doing and pointing to that which is right,
" Blessing to princes, to people, to me ;
" May I, my father, be worthy of thee
" *Wisheth and prayeth thy Surfojee.*"

But this generous prince, free from bigotry, showed still more unequivocally his love for the late Mr. Swartz, for having erected a very extensive and costly building, about sixteen miles from Tanjore, for the support of the Brahmins and of the poor of every description, together with an institution for the maintenance and education of Hindu children of different castes in various oriental and in the English languages; 'his tender regards,' says Mr. Kohlhoff, 'for the memory of the late Reverend Mr. Swartz, induced him also to establish, in the adjacent village of Kunandigoodi, which is inhabited by a considerable

number of Christians, a charitable institution for the education and support of fifty poor Christian children; thirty poor Christians are also maintained and clothed at the same munificent institution, and at a choultry near the Fort of Tanjore, fifty poor, lame, and blind, and other real objects of charity, all belonging to the Mission, are entirely supported by his bounteous hand. *He has likewise given orders that his Christian servants, civil and military, should not be denied by their officers liberty to attend Divine service on Sundays and festival days, and that they should be excused from all other duty on such occasions.*'

Archdeacon Robinson who visited Tanjore in 1826, speaking of this charitable Institution, writes:* 'One of my most interesting excursions was to Motamaveram, a village about thirteen miles from Tanjore, the chuttrum, or hospitable establishment of the Rajah, and which he particularly requested me to visit in order to examine his English schools. There is an excellent house, comfortably furnished, with an establishment of servants, and a table handsomely supplied at the Rajah's expense for the reception of European travellers; our party was sumptuously entertained, after a morning very pleasantly employed in visiting different *schools and charitable foundations, which do so much honor to the munificence of the Rajah.*

At day-break, I went two miles further to Kunandigoodi, a pretty retired village, where there

* Bishop Heber's Journal, Vol. 1, p. 461, and Last Days of Bishop Heber, p. 200.

is a Christian congregation of upwards of two hundred persons, seventy of whom assembled in the Chapel, where Mr. Kohlhoff read prayers and preached. He was kind enough to interpret for me, when I addressed them, as he did in every congregation we visited. The Rajah *entirely supports the Christian school there as a branch of the chuttrum*, from which it is kept separate to avoid pollution to the Brahmins. There are fifty children clothed, fed, and taught. The Catechist's and School Master's houses adjoin the Chapel, which is a plain thatched building, in a beautiful compound, surrounded with bamboo and other trees, and on the other side of the Chapel, we marked out the ground for the residence of the native Priest, who is to be placed here according to the Bishop's desire. I saw no scene of humble labour more enviable thanthis sequestered village.'

Surely facts like these speak their own tale. They show us in clear and unmistakeable terms, that the leaven of the Missionaries' teaching and preaching, was silently, but surely working. That it was leavening though not the whole lump, as was most desirable, still so great a portion that the results were beneficial to man, and were creditable alike, to teacher and pupil, to the master and his disciple. The prayer of this Hindu prince that he might prove worthy of his natural guardian and spiritual father and guide, was in effect accomplished, though not perfectly nor completely. It was clear, however, that his acts were not the mere impulses of natural instinct, nor the suggestions of a generous and warm heart

only; but that they bore the distinctive marks of a higher and nobler principle of action, and betrayed an inward struggle between the natural and infused principle, *the desire to do good while evil was ever present*. The living example of truth and probity, the embodiment of self-denial and integrity, the freedom from moral pollution, while the atmosphere all around was tainted with a demoralizing and degrading poison; the single-mindedness and sincerity of will and purpose, which were vividly pourtrayed in his instructor, wrought effectually, the mind of the pupil for good. Like one of old, he was 'almost, but not altogether,' such as his master and friend. While he would not openly profess the doctrines of his friend, he could not resist the power and force of those principles which compelled him to acknowledge their vitality, and superiority, which carried him along, like an impetuous current, to perform deeds which, to some, must have seemed contrary to his real views, or, at least, inconsistent with them; but the vigour and reality of the principles of pure religion and undefiled, were exemplified in the case of this prince.

Those who have undertaken the great work of preaching in this and other lands, may well learn a lesson from these records. Instead of groaning and sighing, that no results follow upon their exertions, let them but live, and act as did the venerable Swartz and they will find that the influence of their self-denial, their humility, their cordiality, their sincerity, will have a more practical effect, than the most learned

disquisition, the most erudite effusion, delivered with all the pomposity and eloquence of a Tertullus, and surrounded by all the external paraphernalia and creature comforts of a luxurious eastern residence.

Some surprise has been expressed, at 'seeing the reticence of Mr. Swartz, on the subject of religion, when so many and uninterrupted opportunities appeared to have presented themselves. It is not to be doubted, that the good Missionary *did* take advantage of them, and endeavoured to improve them. We are told by his biographer, that, at the request of Rajah Tooljajee, Mr. Swartz learned the Mahratta language, and, for the benefit primarily of Tooljajee, translated into that language a dialogue between a Christian and a Heathen, which he had written in Tamil. *One cause, however, which probably militated against the adoption of that religion, which the faithful Swartz sometimes brought before His Highness, was the determination of the Madras Government to assist the Nabob of Arcot, in the object which he had long in view, of dethroning the Rajah under the pretence, of non-payment of the tribute due to him from Tanjore, and possessing himself of his dominions.* 'The army marched from Trichinopoly for this purpose on the 3rd of August A. D. 1774, and on the 6th, encamped within a short distance from Tanjore. *The poor Rajah remonstrated against this unjust invasion, but in vain.* The approaches were made, and breaching batteries opened on the 16th September. On the 19th a practicable

breach was reported; and the next day at noon, while the garrison had retired for a little refreshment and repose, the English troops advanced to the assault, and entered Tanjore with *scarcely any resistance or loss.* The Rajah and his family were taken prisoners in the Fort and the Nabob took possession of *his Treasure and Kingdom.*

It is true that in April A. D. 1776 the restoration of Tooljajee, by order of the Court of Directors, took place; *but the breach between the Rajah and the Madras Government seems never to have been closed, the wound inflicted by the latter on the honor and dignity of the former, appears never to have been healed.* Certain it is, that the conduct of the Madras Government had an unhappy influence upon the mind of the Rajah. For the late Mr. Hudleston, in the sketch of the character of Swartz found among his papers, asserts;—'*That the Rajah Tooljajee was convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, and was about publicly to avow it, but that he was so deeply offended and disgusted, by the injustice with which he had been treated, by the Madras Government that he abandoned his intention.*

The locus loquendi of Tanjore abounds with anecdotes of the many acts of kindness shown by Surfojee, both to the Missionary, as well as to his people. Our time will not permit us to narrate each and all.

In June 1802 Surfojee was at Tranquebar, and honored the senior of the Danish Missionaries with a visit.

'A few days ago,' writes the Reverend Mr. John, " the present king of Tanjore, who is now about twenty-five years old, paid us a visit at Tranquebar, accompanied by a numerous suite. I stood with my family near my house door, in order to see him pass. He was on horseback, and when he saw me, he dismounted, embraced me three times, and conversed with me in the street for several minutes. He promised to pay me a visit, which he did, and afterwards requested me to meet him in his tent, where he received me in the most friendly manner, and conversed with me for nearly two hours alone. We spoke in English, chiefly about his dear Father Swartz, as he called him. He expressly stated, *that he held him in constant remembrance: and that his instructions and admonitions were often present to his mind.* He added, that he was not unmindful of what I had so frequently told him at our interviews in Madras. He also expressed his unfeigned respect for Mr. Gericke and Mr. Kohlhoff, as well as for my fellow-labourers in this city, one of whom, Mr. Cæmmerer, he had already seen. 'I highly esteem them,' he said, 'because I find them men of the same mind and character as Mr. Swartz; and such men, I hope, will always be sent as Missionaries to India."

The Reverend Dr. Claudius Buchanan[1] visited Tanjore eight years after the death of the venerable Swartz, and this is the testimony he has left behind him of his opinion, and impression of Surfojee. 'I

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[1] Christian Researches in Asia.

visited the Rajah of Tanjore, in company with Major Blackburne. When the first ceremonial was over, the Rajah conducted us to the grand saloon, which was adorned by the portraits of his ancestors; *and immediately led me up to the portrait of Mr. Swartz. He then discoursed for a considerable time concerning 'that good man' whom he ever revered as his father and guardian.* The Rajah speaks and writes English very intelligibly. I smiled to see Swartz' picture among these Hindu kings, and thought within myself, *that there are many who would think such a combination scarcely possible*... I then addressed the Rajah, and thanked him in the name *of the Church of England, for his kindness to the late Mr. Swartz, and to his successors, and particularly, for his recent acts of benevolence to the Christians residing within his provinces.* The Missionaries had first informed me that the Rajah had erected 'a College for Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians;' in which provision was made for the instruction of fifty Christian children. His Highness is very desirous that I should visit this College, which is only about sixteen miles from the Capital. Having heard of the fame of the ancient Sanscrit[1] and Mahratta Library of the kings of Tanjore, I requested His Highness would present a catalogue of its volumes to the College of Fort William, which he was pleased to do. It is voluminous, and written in the Mahratta character; for that is the proper language of the Tanjore Court.

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[1] Mr. Burnell of the M. C. S. is now employed by Government in translating the MSS.

In the evening I dined with the Resident, and the Rajah sent his band of Music, consisting of eight or more Venas, with other instruments. The Vena or Been, is the ancient instrument, which Sir William Jones has described in his interesting descant, on the musical science of the Hindus, in the Asiatic Researches, and the sight of which, he says, he found it so difficult to obtain in Northern India. The band played the English air of 'God Save the King,' set to Mahratta words, and applied to the Maha Rajah or 'Great King of Tanjore.' Before I left the capital of Tanjore, the Rajah was pleased to honor me with a second audience. On this occasion he presented to me a portrait of himself, a very striking likeness, painted by a Hindu artist at the Tanjore court. . . . The Missionary Doctor John accompanied me to the palace. He received him with much kindness, and presented to him a piece of gold cloth.'

Ten years after Dr. Buchanan, Bishop Middleton visited Tanjore. 'His Highness dwelt,' observes the biographer of that eminent prelate, 'with evident delight on the blessings which the heavenly lessons and virtues of Swartz had shed upon him and his people, and concluded by professing the warmest respect for those excellent men, Mr. Kohlhoff and his fellow-workers, who had succeeded to the labours of their venerable predecessors.' The Rajah afterwards selected a portrait of Swartz as the most acceptable memorial he could offer to the English Bishop.

Twenty-eight years after the death of the venerable Swartz, a good and great man visited Tanjore. He was an Ambassador of God, and a Christian Bishop, one of the first that was appointed as Metropolitan to this country. He came to Tanjore, evidently prejudiced against the good Swartz, for he tells us so. But how soon was that prejudice completely effaced? Who does not love the name of Heber! He was no ordinary man. He was no enthusiast. While on earth he had heaven in him. What was his impression of the prince Surfojee when he visited Tanjore? He must have heard much of him, and it was his way to treasure up all that he heard and saw of good, in his heart, till that heart could hold it no longer, and then it burst forth with the burning thoughts it could not contain. Did the good Bishop consider Surfojee a true disciple of the Apostolic Swartz? Mr. Robinson who was Domestic Chaplain to Bishop Heber, and accompanied him, tells us, that on the arrival of the Bishop in Tanjore, he first visited Swartz's Chapel, where the grave of the Apostolic man, has an inscription on its stone, being the composition of Rajah Surfojee. He tells us that Bishop Heber was particularly pleased with the 'natural simplicity of expression in the last lines.'

While in Tanjore the Bishop paid a visit of ceremony to the Rajah. To quote Archdeacon Robinson: 'We were received in full durbar in the great Mahratta Hall, where the Rajahs are enthroned. The scene was imposing, and *from the number of Christian Clergymen in the court of a Hindu Prince some-*

what singular. The address and manner of His Highness were in a remarkable degree dignified and pleasing. The Bishop sat on his right, the Resident next to his son on the left, and the rest of the party on each side in order. He talked much of his *dear father Swartz and three times told the Bishop he hoped his lordship would resemble him and stand in his room.* Perhaps few things from the mouth of an eastern prince, with whom compliment to the living is generally exaggerated, could show more strongly, the sincerity of his affection, for the friend he had lost. *He was his pupil from the time he was twelve years old, till he was twenty-four, and succeeded to the musnud the year after Swartz died.* 'And John Kohlhoff' said he, 'is a good man, a very good man, we are old school fellows.' The Bishop thanked him for his uniform kindness to his poor Christian subjects and their teachers; *he (the Prince) said it was but his duty, and he trusted all his subjects knew that he was their friend and protector.* He thanked his Lordship for his goodness in preaching to them in Tamil, (alluding to his having pronounced the blessing and administered confirmation in that language), and regretted it was not possible for him to attend. 'I understood afterwards' adds Mr. Robinson, 'from the Resident, that he certainly would have done so had the visits been exchanged before.' He added that 'the next time he visited Tanjore he hoped he would be able to preach in Mahratta also. Hearing from the Bishop that I came from Poonah, he asked me if I understood Mahratta, and talked with in-

terest *about that country of his ancestors and especially of the events of the late war.* Much of the conversation naturally turned on the pilgrimage, which he had lately made to Benares, and the Bishop's northern journey supplied him with many topics, which were equally familiar to both. Upon his Lordship's admiring the hall in which we were sitting, he showed considerable information on the subject of architecture, and the comparative excellencies and peculiarities of the Hindu and Mussulman styles. At parting, he requested the Bishop to come again, privately to see his library, museum, and printing press. On the whole, much as we had heard of this celebrated person, we found our anticipations had not been raised too high. Much doubtless of the interest excited before we saw him, sprung from the hallowing and endearing associations with the name of Swartz, which in Heathen India, or the nations of Christendom must ever be,

Magnum venerable nomen.

But his manners and conversation have many charms of themselves unconnected with these circumstances, and the Bishop said, as we returned from the palace, '*I have seen many crowned heads but not one whose deportment was more princely.*'

After the visit of ceremony, so strong was the good impression made on the mind of Bishop Heber regarding the Rajah of Tanjore, and his imbibement of Christianity that, according to Apostolic injunction, he composed the following prayer, which he desired to be translated into Tamil and henceforth used in

all the Churches of the province.[1] 'O Lord God Almighty, giver of all good things, we beseech Thee, to receive into thy bountiful protection, *Thy servant, His Highness Maha Rajah Surfojee, his family and descendants. Remember him, O Lord, for good, for the kindness which he hath shown to Thy Church. Grant him in health and wealth long to live, preserve him from all evil and danger, grant that his son and son's son may inherit honour, peace, and happiness, and grant above all to him, and to them,* that peace which the world cannot give—a knowledge of Thy truth here, and everlasting happiness hereafter, through thy son Jesus Christ our Saviour. . .Amen.'

The Bishop also makes mention of the prince when interceding with the Almighty in private 'O Lord Jesus Christ who, at this time, didst burst the prison house of the grave and open to all that believe in thy name the gate of a glorious resurrection, let the light of Thy truth, I beseech Thee, shine on all that dwell in darkness. Have mercy on those heathen who have shown kindness to Thy Church, more *especially on the Rajah of this city. Grant him an abundant blessing on his remaining wealth and means of usefulness. Reward him in this world for the good deeds of his youth, and let his soul above all, O Lord, be precious in thy sight, that the advantages which he has enjoyed may not increase his* condemnation, but that he may be not only almost but altogether a Christian, and believe in Thee, to thy glory, O bless-ed Lord, and his and our everlasting happiness.

1 Vide Appendix B.

Bless likewise, O Lord, all the potentates and former rulers, all the subjects, and people of this land, that the loss of earthly dominion may be repaid by a heavenly heritage, and that they may have cause to rejoice in that dispensation of Thy providence which hath made strangers to be Lords over them.'*

'His Highness the Maha Rajah Surfojee,' adds Mr. Robinson, 'returned the Bishop's visit in royal state. He rode on a very noble elephant, with a common hunting howdah, covered with tiger skins. Other elephants that attended him had silver howdahs with more costly trappings. His two grandsons, very fine little boys, came with him and seemed great favorites at the Residency. His Lordship begged the Rajah to allow his son,[1] a young man of eighteen, who had been proclaimed heir to the crown, to accompany him in his journey through the provinces, promising to instruct him in English as they travelled. He replied that he should accept the invitation with great gratitude, but with far greater, if he would allow him also to accompany him in his return to Bengal, and spend some years, under his Lordship's superintendence. The Bishop gladly assented to the proposition, and offered him, either apartments in the palace, or to procure a house for him in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. The Rajah said he would consult the Ranee, who was so fond of this her only son that he could determine nothing without her consent.'

[1] Vide Appendix C.

* 'The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man, availeth much,' says, Holy Writ. James, v. 16.

This visit, of course, elicited the request from the Rajah, of a private visit of the Bishop to his place. 'The Rajah,' says Mr. Robinson, 'received us in his library, a noble room with three rows of pillars, and handsomely furnished in the English style. On one side there are portraits of the Mahratta dynasty from Shajee and Sevajee, ten book cases containing a very fair collection of French, English, German, Greek, and Latin books, and two others of Mahratta and Sanscrit manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an air pump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several other cases of books, many of which are on the subject of Medicine, which was for some years his favorite study. He showed us his valuable collection of coins, paintings of flowers and natural history, with each of which he seemed to have considerable acquaintance, particularly, with the medicinal virtues of the plants in his hortus siccus.'

'When we took our leave, his minister showed us a noble statue of the Rajah by Flaxman, which stands in the great hall, which was used by the ancient Hindu Court, before the conquest of the Mahrattas. The pedestal is a remarkably large and fine slab of black granite 18 feet by 16½. His stables contain several fine English horses, but that of which he is most justly proud, as the rarest curiosity of an Indian Court, is an English printing press worked by native Christians, in which they struck off a sentence in Mahratta in the Bishop's presence in honour of his visit.'

The plan proposed by Bishop Heber to educate the young prince-regent of Tanjore, was abandoned, on account of the Ranee of Tanjore being averse to it.

Bishop Heber left Tanjore and went on his metropolitan tour towards Trichionopoly, and his domestic Chaplain writes;—'We leave Tanjore with the sincerest regret, and the strongest interest in a spot so favored and so full of promise. The Bishop has more than once observed to me, that instead of the usual danger of exaggerated reports, and the expression of too sanguine hopes, the fault here was, that enough had not been said, and repeats his conviction, that the strength of the Christian cause in India is in these Missions, and that it will be a grievous and heavy sin if England and the agents of its bounty, do not nourish and protect the Churches here founded. He has seen the other parts of India and Ceylon, and he has rejoiced in the prospects opened, of the extension of Christ's Kingdom, in many distant places, and by many different instruments, but he has seen nothing like the Missions of the South, for these are the fields most ripe for the harvest.'

If there ever was a second Saint Paul on earth, it was Bishop Heber, and Tanjore was his Athens. Saint Paul was stirred in Spirit at the superstition of Athens, and Bishop Heber was moved in Spirit at the religious enthusiasm and fervour of Christian Tanjore. '*Gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this*' was the fervent exclamation of the Bishop.

On his arrival at Trichinopoly the Bishop, writing to a friend of his, expresses himself thus of Surfojee of Tanjore.[1] 'I have been passing the last four days in the society of a Hindu Prince, the Rajah of Tanjore, who quotes Fourcroy, Lauvisier, Linnæus and Buffon fluently, has formed a more accurate judgment of the poetical merits of Shakespeare's theme than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron, and has actually emitted English Poetry very superior indeed to Russian's epitaph on Shenstone, at the same time that he was much respected by the English Officers in his neighbourhood as a real good judge of a horse, and a cool, bold and deadly shot at a tiger. The truth is, *that he is an extraordinary man, who having in early youth received such an education as old Swartz, the celebrated Missionary could give him, has ever since continued in the midst of many disadvantages, to preserve his taste for, and extend his knowledge of, English Literature, while he has never neglected the active exercise and frank soldierly bearing which became the descendant of the old Mahratta conquerors,* and by which only, in the present state of things, he has it in his power to gratify the prejudices of his people, and prolong his popularity among them. Had he lived in the days of Hyder, he would have been a *formidable ally or enemy;* for he is, by the testimony of all in his neighbourhood, frugal, bold, popular and insinuating. At present, with less power than an English nobleman, he holds his head

[1] Bishop Heber's letter to R. Wilmot Horton, Esq.—Life of Bishop Heber.

high, and appears contented, and the print of Bonaparte, which hangs in his library, is so neutralized by that of Lord Hastings, in full costume, that it can do no harm to anybody.

'To finish the portrait of Maha Rajah Surfojee, I should tell you that *he is a strong built and very handsome middle-aged man, with eyes and nose like a fine hawk and very bushy gray mustaches, generally splendidly dressed, but with no effeminacy of ornament, and looking and talking more like a favorable specimen of a French General Officer, than any other object of comparison which occurs to me.* His son Rajah Sevajee (so named after their great ancestor), is a pale sickly looking lad of seventeen, who also speaks English, but imperfectly, and on whose account his father lamented, with much apparent concern, the impossibility which he found of obtaining any tolerable instruction in Tanjore. I was moved at this, and offered to take him in my present tour, and afterwards to Calcutta, where he might have apartments in my house, and be introduced into good English society; at the same time, that I would superintend his studies, and procure for him the best masters which India affords. The father and son, in different ways, the one catching at the idea with great eagerness, the other as if he were afraid to say all he wished, seemed both very well pleased with the proposal. Both, however, on consulting together, expressed a doubt of the mother's concurrence, and accordingly next day, I had a very civil message through the Resident, that the Ranee

had already lost two sons, that the survivor was a sickly boy, that she was sure he would not come back alive, and it would kill her to part with him, but that all the family joined in gratitude, &c. ; so poor Sevajee must chew beetle, and sit in the zenana, and pursue the other amusements of the common race of Hindu Princes, till he his gathered to those heroic forms, who, girded, with long swords, with hawks on their wrists, and garments like those of the King of Spades (whose portrait as I guess has been retained by this family), adorn the principal room in the palace. Surfojee, the father, has not trusted his own immortality to record like these. He has put up a colossal marble statue of himself, by Flaxman, in one of his halls of audience, and his figure is introduced on the monument, also by Flaxman, which he has raised in the Mission Church, to the memory of his tutor Swartz, *as grasping the hand of the dying saint and receiving his blessing.*'

We also learn that, when the Bishop's Domestic Chaplain passed through Tanjore, after the lamented death of Bishop Heber, he paid a private visit to the Rajah, 'who received me,' he says, 'with great personal kindness and expressed his unfeigned sorrow at the dear Bishop's loss. *He spoke with great admiration, of the union of so much kindness and condescension, with such extensive learning, and said, that he had special reason to mourn for his death which he felt to be a private loss; for the very day on which he heard of the event, the Ranee had almost*

consented to allow his son to accompany him to Calcutta. He was much affected when I assured him that besides the public prayer which his Lordship had commanded to be put up for him in all the Churches of the Province, I had heard his private petition fervently offered for *His Highness, for his family and his son.* I expressed my thankfulness to him, *on behalf of his Christian subjects for all his acts of kindness to them,* and implored him not to forsake them now, that they had *lost their father. He said he should consider it more than ever his duty, to take care of those whom the good Bishop loved, and assured me he would always be their friend.* 'Whatever John Kohlhoff ask for *them shall be done. But where will they find such another Bishop?'* It was at first Surfojee's intention to raise a monument to the memory of Bishop Heber at his own expense, and he afterwards became a subscriber of one thousand Rupees, to the general fund opened for that purpose at Madras.

While Bishop Heber was at Tanjore, Prince Surfojee had promised him a likeness of the Reverend Mr. Swartz, copied by a native from the original in his possession. That promise was not forgotten. In 1827 he sent it to Mrs. Heber, though her husband was long dead. Referring to this fact, one says;—'To those who are acquainted with the native character, this will appear another striking trait in the disposition *of the prince; who would suffer neither absence nor death to efface from his mind the memory of those whom he revered.'*

We will draw a veil over the death-scene of this great man—over his funeral, over his loss, these are subjects, we have not the pen to describe; but over them, we have the heart to weep. Prince Surfojee's death was the mourning of a nation. He died, and Tanjore was as 'Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.' It was like the mourning that once had happened in the memorable land of Goshen, when a great man, a Patriarch, had passed away!

With Surfojee drooped the glory of Tanjore, and after him it departed. On his death his son Sevajee, of whom Bishop Heber in his letter to his friend, facetiously amused himself, ascended the Musnud of Tanjore.

For the information, that we have gleaned, regarding the patronage of Christianity by these Mahratta Princes, we are indebted to the reports of Missionaries, who were, from time to time, appointed to superintend the Missions of Tanjore. We record with regret, that while the earlier Missionaries of this Station had been imbued with the Apostolic spirit, and had taken hold of the mantle of Father Swartz, the later ones had assumed the position of *gentlemen Missionaries,* and deplorably neglected the spiritual welfare and interests of this Royal House. Mixing as they did, in social equilibrium with the local magnates of authority, they counted these personages as below their notice, and classed them with the common mass of people. Not-

withstanding, we have it on record, that the Christian memory of Father Swartz lay still unforgotten in the bosom of the son of Surfojee, even after he had been clothed with the purple of royalty. Let his own letter speak for himself. In acknowledging the receipt of the Memoirs of Swartz, he writes on the 20th of August 1834;—'I had the pleasure to receive, in due time, your letter of the 20th January, together with your valuable present of a Memoir, in two volumes, of the Rev. Father Swartz; and most heartily thank you for the same.'*

'Though indeed a faithful and detailed narrative of the life of that Apostolic Missionary must prove highly interesting to the public at large; yet I beg to assure you, that you could not have selected a person who would have received such a present from you with a greater avidity than I have done. My perusal of this work has awakened many most grateful recollections of incidents, which my respected father was in the habit of reciting most enthusiastically, as indubitable instances of the disinterested affection that the venerable Mr. Swartz had entertained, and on several occasions manifested towards him; as well as of his pious and philanthropic exertions for the moral improvement of his fellow creatures, whether Natives or Europeans. His virtues and qualifications, either as a Clergyman or a Politician, exercised at a time when there existed very little courage, must ever remain objects of emulation to rising generations. Captain Baker, Com-

* Letter to Dr. Hugh Pearson, author of the Memoir of the Rev. F. C. Swartz.

mandant of the Resident's escort at Tanjore was, at his own request, furnished by me with copies of a few letters of the Rev. Mr. Swartz to my father, in order to be sent to a friend of his, who, he mentioned, was preparing his Memoir. As I think they were required for you, I regret that they had not reached you in time to be available; but you have spared no labour to make your work as complete as could be wished for.'

The present Princess of Tanjore is the second surviving daughter of the writer of the foregoing letter. Of her charities and acts of kindness to the Missions of Tanjore, we refer our readers to the several Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. It was but recently that the Princess, as well as Her Consort, Rajah Sukahram Sahib, subscribed handsomely towards the Girls' School, established by Lady Napier, for the higher classes of Hindu Girls, in the District and Collectorate of Tanjore.*

* A correspondent sends us the following curious list of disbursements made by the Princess of Tanjore for charitable and other purposes from 1860 to 1874:—

	RS.	A.	P.
Choultry maintained at East Street, Tanjore	15,070	14	0
Charity for poor without distinction of caste or creed, for marriages, &c.	8,191	8	0
Clothing for poor Europeans, East Indians and Native Christians	4,022	8	9
Prayers offered for the restoration of life to the Prince of Wales, when seriously ill...	200	0	0
Repairing public tanks	4,100	0	0
Donation to Civil Dispensary at Mannargoody	200	0	0
Charity for pilgrims passing through Tanjore	1,362	0	0
Bungalow for Library at Tanjore	400	0	0

	RS.	A.	P.
Aid and presents to girl-school established by Lady Napier at Tanjore...	1,708	0	0
Donation for girl-school at Combaconum	100	0	0
Charity to Hindu Pundarums or Monks	1,487	6	3
Donation for repairs of temples	4,771	0	0
Presents to Hindu Pundits visiting Tanjore from other parts of India	5,225	7	8
Rewards and presents to Sanscrit Pundits annually, on the festival day of the God Candasawmy or Subramaniem, as well as those who are successful competitors in examination on the same day	27,598	7	7
Sanscrit School established by the Princess in 1873 ...	32,000	0	0
Deposit Fund ... . Rs. 30,000			
Cost of building ... ... „ 2,000			
Rs. 32,000			
Scholarships to poor students at the High School at Tanjore promoted from Palace Charity School until passing Matriculation	620	0	0
Charity for water pandals	860	0	0
Feeding poor Brahmins on Dwathasses	1,504	0	0
Donation for Calcutta famine in 1874	4,000	0	0
Gifts to songsters and Circus-players	8,673	14	5
Donation for the Horse-races at Trichinopoly	2,400	0	0
Maintenance for widows and orphans of good birth, who cannot do menial work	12,000	0	0
Expenditure by the Princess, for wild birds and insects at the rate of 1 Rupee per day	5,110	0	0
Donation to the new Civil Dispensary at Sreerungum ...	2,000	0	0
Total Rs.	1,43,605	2	8

—*Madras Mail,* dated 26*th Novr.* 1874.]

RISE OF THE BRITISH POWER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

CHAPTER V.

"From factories to forts, from forts to fortifications, from fortifications to garrisons, from garrisons to armies, and from armies to conquests, the gradations were natural, and the result inevitable; *where we could not find a danger, we were determined to find a quarrel.*"—PHILIP FRANCIS.[1]

IN the days of the Emperor Aurungzibe, the Hindu Rajahs of Southern India were dispossessed of their territories by the Mahratta power, who transmitted the State to their posterity. During the early wars between the English and French, the power in Tanjore was held by Pretaph Sing. Tanjore had *never been actually incorporated with the Carnatic,* but it had from time to time paid tribute when hard pressed by the Nabob.

In 1762 when, in consequence of the war with the French, the finances of the Nabob of the Carnatic were at a low ebb, the Nabob claimed, wrongfully, large arrears of tribute; and applied to the English for assistance to reduce the Rajah. Military aid was refused, but through the mediation of the Madras[2] Government, the Rajah agreed to pay to the Nabob twenty-two lakhs of Rupees as arrears; and thereafter, a fixed tribute of four lakhs annually.

In 1771, the Rajah of Tanjore, Tooljajee, son of Pretaph Sing, prepared an expedition against the

[1] Speech on Indian Affairs, 1787.

[2] Vide Appendix D.

Poligar of Ramnad, a dependant of the Carnatic, to recover some districts which, he said, had been wrested from him in 1763. Mediation failed, and at the request of the Nabob a force was sent to punish the Rajah. During the hostilities, however, the son of the Nabob concluded a Treaty[1] of Peace with the Rajah, without the knowledge or consent of the English, by which the Rajah bound himself to pay eight lakhs of arrears of tribute and thirty-two and a half lakhs as the expenses of the expedition, and to furnish the Nabob with troops in time of war. The clandestine conclusion of this engagement, of course, was condemned by the Madras Government, and as the Rajah failed to perform its terms, the renewal of hostilities was threatened, unless the Rajah gave up the Fort of Vellum and the districts of Coiladdy and Elungux. A good excuse indeed.

The Rajah of Tanjore again fell into arrears in 1739, and was, of course, believed to be intriguing with Hyder Ally and the Mahrattas, for a supply of troops. It was pretexed that his position in the country, to the defence of which he contributed nothing, was felt to be a source of constant danger, and it was therefore determined to take the opportunity, while enforcing the Nabob's claim, entirely to reduce him. Tanjore was taken on the 16th September 1773, and the Rajah and his family were made prisoners in the fort. The Court of Directors entirely disapproved of this expedition against Tanjore, and directed the restoration of the

[1] Vide Appendix E.

Rajah. In consequence of these orders, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Rajah was restored on 11th April 1776, and a Treaty[1] was concluded with him by which he bound himself to do nothing contrary to the Company's interest, to receive English troops for the protection of his country, to contribute four lakhs of Pagodas towards Military expenses, and to grant to the Company two hundred and seventy-seven villages.

Tooljajee died in 1787 and was succeeded by his half-brother, Ameer Sing, with whom a new Treaty[2] was concluded on the same principles as that which was concluded in the same year with the Nabob of the Carnatic, viz., that the Rajah should contribute towards the peace establishment two-fifths of his revenues with territorial security for punctual payment; that in time of war, the contribution should be doubled; that he should pay a further sum of three lakhs of Pagodas a year for the liquidation of his debts to the Nabob, and to his private creditors; and that he should pay to the British Government, the tribute ceded to them by the Nabob of the Carnatic. After the close of the war with Tippoo Sultan, another Treaty[3] was made with Ameer Sing on 12th July 1792, almost on the same terms as the Treaty of the date concluded with the Nabob of the Carnatic.

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1 Vide Appendix F.

2 Vide Appendix G.

3 Vide Appendix H.

Before his death, Tooljajee had adopted Surfojee as his son, and committed him to the care of Ameer Sing. The adoption was disputed on three grounds; the imbecile state of Tooljajee's mind, age of the boy, and his being an only son—circumstances which were held to invalidate the adoption. Consequently the adoption was cancelled and Ameer Sing was recognized as successor to the State. Surfojee, however, appealed; and as the best legal authorities were, on further inquiry,[1] found to be in favour of his claim, Ameer Sing was deposed and Surfojee acknowledged in his stead. On his accession, a Treaty was made with him by which he resigned the administration into the hands of the British Government and received a provision of one lakh of Pagodas and one-fifth of the net revenues. A pension of 25,000 Pagodas was granted to Ameer Sing. The deposed Rajah died in 1802.

Political relations with Surfojee continued unchanged during his life-time. By the Treaty of 1799, no sovereign authority was left to him except in the Fort of Tanjore and its immediate vicinity, subject to the control of the British Government. Surfojee died in 1832, and was succeeded by his only son Sevajee, on whose death in 1855 without male heirs, direct or collateral, the titular dignity was declared to be extinct in 1857.—English justice!

Besides the territory ceded under the Treaty of 1799, and Devicottah, which was ceded by Pretaph Sing, there are several British Districts which ori-

1 Vide Appendix I.

ginally formed part of the Tanjore State. Negapatam and Nagore which were taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1660 were annexed to the British dominions in 1781. Tranquebar which was purchased by the Danes was ceded by them to the British in 1845. The French Settlement of Karikal was purchased from Tanjore in 1739.*

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* Engagements, Sunnuds, Treaties of India.

THE PRESENT PRINCESS OF TANJORE.

CHAPTER VI.

"*We cannot undo what is done*, but for that we are not accountable. We are accountable, as a free-speaking and freely represented people, *for all that may hereafter be done in our name;* and if, upon investigation which, with honour and in conscience, we are not at liberty to elude—we are convinced, with Burke and Fox, with Cornwallis and Bentinck, with the elder Mill and Richard Cobdon, *that a great debt of reparation is due to India by the country, we are bound to use every just and fair occasion to press for restitution to individuals of such rights and benefits as can be restored them, compatibly with justice to others equally claiming our care, and for such restitution of local self-rule to the nations of the East as may not be incompatible with the preservation of peace amongst them*, and in the maintenance of that Suzerainty in the English Crown, which they, in common, never acknowledged as due to any other single authority.'—W. M. TORRENS, M. P.[1]

THE Raj of Tanjore, when passing into the hands of the British Government might be technically styled, an *appropriation*, not an *acquisition*. It created no small sensation, not only among the people of Tanjore, but as well among the Hindu community of the Madras Presidency.[2] This act of the *Honourable* East India Company might be well called a political atrocity. It was perpetrated in 1855 (and carried into force in 1857) on the demise of Sevajee, when Lord Dalhousie was Governor-

1 Empire in Asia.

2 Native Petition to the Imperial Parliament for the Restitution of the Raj of Tanjore, dated 12th April 1860.

General of India, and Lord Harris, Governor of Madras. It is an indubitable fact, that, when we were struggling for an existence in Southern India, the Princes of Tanjore were paramount; that in our contentions for superiority against the French, they assisted us with troops and resources; that they were our unswerving and faithful allies; that treaties and alliances were from time to time negotiated and ratified between them and us, on the footing of *independent Sovereigns;* that these treaties were expressly made on behalf of the contracting parties, 'their heirs and successors;' that their intent was for 'mutual defence' and for 'cementing an everlasting friendship;' that the princes of Tanjore not only tolerated but fostered and encouraged the Christian religion which we profess; and that they finally unhesitatingly acceded to the propositions of the British Government, and placed implicit confidence and firm reliance on their *good faith.*

The Treaty of 1787 commences with the following preamble. 'The Court of Directors of the East India Company, having taken into their serious consideration the great advantages which may be obtained by *improving the blessings of peace now happily re-established on the Coast of Coromandel in the Carnatic,* and the country of Tanjore, and considering the present hour best suited for setting and arranging, *by a just and equitable treaty,* a plan for the *future defence and protection of the Carnatic, the Tanjore country,* and the Northern Circars, *on a*

solid and lasting foundation; have communicated these their sentiments to His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore, who, being fully impressed with the propriety and wisdom of such an arrangement, has for *himself, his heirs and successors,* adjusted and concluded *a solid and permanent Treaty* with the Honourable East India Company, upon the principles and conditions, hereinafter mentioned; in consequence whereof, it is stipulated and agreed, that due provision shall be made for the military peace establishment; and also that for discharging the expenses of war, in the event of war breaking out in the Tanjore country, or in the Carnatic, or any part of the Coast of Coromandel, certain contributions or proportions of the revenue of the contracting parties *shall be united into one common stock, to be applied for their mutual security and defence.* And as it is necessary that the application of the said contributions, both for peace and war, should be reposed in the United Company, or their representatives, together with the direction of the war, the command of the army, magazines of stores, and provisions, with full power to occupy or dismantle such Forts as by them shall be deemed necessary for the general security; *the said contracting parties do hereby solemnly engage and agree, for themselves and their successors, to and with each other,* in manner following.'

Article I. provides that 'the friends and enemies of either shall be considered the friends and enemies of both.'

Article II. provides that 'the exercise of power over the said districts and farms, by the virtue of the conditions mentioned in the IV. and V. Articles, *in case of failure in the payment of any kists, shall not extend or be construed to extend to deprive His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore or his successors of the Civil Government thereof, or the honour and dignity of his family; but the same shall be preserved to him and them inviolate,* saving and excepting the powers in the Articles Nos. IV. and V. expressed and mentioned.'

The Treaty of 1792-3 recites as follows:—'Whereas a certain engagement was entered into between the Honourable English East India Company and His Excellency Ameer Sing, Rajah of Tanjore, bearing date the 10th of April 1787, for the purpose of cementing *an everlasting friendship with each other,* and of contributing *mutually* towards the defence of the Carnatic and countries dependent thereon; whereby it was stipulated that the said Company should maintain a military force, and that the said Rajah of Tanjore should pay annually a certain sum of money arising from the revenues of his country, and should furnish sufficient and satisfactory security under certain conditions, expressed in the said engagement for the regular payment of the sum stipulated to the said Company; and whereas it apppears that the resources of the said country of Tanjore, are not competent to enable the said Rajah to perform the stipulation on the said engagement; and whereas it further appears that the

security which the said Rajah of Tanjore agreed in the abovementioned engagement to furnish for the due payment of the stipulated sum to the said Company is, in its nature, inadequate to the end intended, and whereas certain agreements have also been entered into between the said Company and the said Rajah for the discharge of certain debts due by the said Rajah to private persons; it has been mutually agreed in consequence of the above written circumstances, *that the engagement* aforesaid shall henceforth be considered by the contracting parties *as annulled and no longer of effect or in force,* and in lieu thereof the Honorable Sir Charles Oakley, Baronet, President and Governor in Council of Fort Saint George, on behalf of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, *their heirs and successors* on the one part, and His Excellency Ameer Sing, Rajah of Tanjore, in his own name and for *himself, his heirs and successors,* on the other part, agree to the following Articles which shall be binding on the respective parties for the purpose contained therein, notwithstanding all, or any of the conditions stipulated in the engagement, dated 10th April 1787, to the contrary.'

Article X. is similar to Article I. of the Treaty of 1787.

Article IX. provides that 'the said Rajah shall receive regular information of all negotiations which shall relate to declaring war or making peace, wherein the said Company may engage and the interests of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be con-

cerned, and the said Rajah shall be considered as an ally of the said Company in all Treaties, which shall in any respect affect the Carnatic and countries depending thereon, or belonging to either of the contracting parties contiguous thereto; and the said Rajah agreed that he will not enter into any negotiations or political correspondence with any European or Native power, without the consent of the said Company.'

The Treaty of 1799 provides by Article 11th, that '*such part of all former Treaties* with the former Rajahs of Tanjore as are intended *to establish the friendship and alliance between* the Honourable Company and His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore, are *hereby strengthened and confirmed;* and the contracting parties mutually agree *that the friends and enemies of either shall be considered to be the friends and enemies of both.*'

By Article IX. ,It is stipulated and agreed that the Rajah shall be treated on all occasions in his own territories, as well as in those of the Company, with all the attention, and respect, and honour *which is due to a friend and ally of the British Nation.*'

In 1798-99, Surfojee entered into Treaty with the Honourable East India Company, and thereby he ceded his entire kingdom to the administration of the British, with the exception of a few villages, which he reserved for the royal dignity of his State and family. He retained the Fort of Tanjore, wherein stood his palace. The Company

were his self-appointed tax-gatherers, under his surveillance, collecting the revenue, and paying it into the exchequers of the Raj; portions of which revenue he reserved to *himself and his successors.*

By the Treaty of 1797-98 and by the 7th Article it is provided, that 'In lieu of the said stipulations in the 5th Article of the Treaty of 1792, it is hereby stipulated and agreed that His Excellency the Rajah shall in all cases receive *annually one lakh of Star Pagodas*, which shall be considered to be the first charge payable from the net Revenue of Tanjore. In addition to the said sum of one lakh of Star Pagodas, His Excellency shall receive a proportion of one-fifth, to be calculated, on the remainder of the net revenue after deducting all charges of collection of whatever description, and the charge specified in the following Article.'

And the XIII. Article is as follows:—'In order that His Excellency the Rajah may have full satisfaction in respect to the revenues of the Territory hereby subjected to the management of the Company, His Excellency shall be at liberty to inspect the accounts of the Head Cutchery or Collector's Treasury from time to time, or to station a Vakeel (Pleader) or Accountant, at his own expense, for the purpose of taking and transmitting to His Excellency, copies of any or of all the accounts which shall be recorded in the Head Cutchery or Treasury of the Collector.'

Thus was the Kingdom and Government of Tanjore managed till 1855, when the last Rajah, Seva-

jee, suddenly died* without male issue, natural or

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* When Rajah Sevajee died Doctor Pope was the missionary in charge of Tanjore. His description of the funeral procession and obsequies of the late Rajah, would interest some of my readers, I insert it as a foot-note. "It was certainly one of the most solemnly thrilling spectacles I have ever seen, when the poor remains of the last Rajah of Tanjore, dressed with the utmost magnificence and loaded with jewels of rare value, were borne out, in a State palankeen, inlaid with ivory, through the long streets of his royal city, the last remnant of the inheritance of his ancestors. A fortnight before I had attended Lord Harris when he visited the Rajah in full durbar. Then he was loaded with jewels and gold, and presented a spectacle of almost unparalled gorgeousness, and even now as the light of the torches fell on the nodding head, one could almost imagine he still lived, and was *gravely acknowledging the salutations of the crowds around him.* The death-change seemed to ennoble him. A majesty, an air of quite power, seemed to pervade his features. Something eagle-like in the face called up the remembrance of the portraits of the first Mahratta chief, so mighty and so daring, who shook the throne of the Mogul into dust. Before the funeral procession, as chief mourner, walked the representative of the now ruling power, and after him, the European inhabitants of Tanjore. Vast multitudes lined the streets and crowded the fronts and tops of the houses, over which the light of many torches cast an unearthly glare. In the crowd there was a strange mingling of races, the Mahratta with brooding sorrow on his brow, the Tamilian with his accustomed apathy jostled by Englishmen, Mahomedans, Affgans, and other tribes whom the court had attracted to Tanjore. Wild discordant music sounded and ever and anon, as the sad procession moved slowly forward, the wail, such as is never heard in other lands, the loud wail of a nation mourning for the last of its royal race, filled the air. Whatever may have been their estimate in some respects of the poor Rajah while he lived, tens of thousands of sincere mourners attended him to the funeral pyre that night. And then, when on a plain by the river-side, the royal garments were taken off one by one, and at last the body, wrapped in a simple muslin robe, was lifted on to the pile of sandal wood, a long, loud mournery was raised, and the vast multitude swayed to and fro as though with agony unutterable. Quickly the fuel was heaped up till the face too was hidden. Then the nearest male relative, a boy of twelve years of age, was borne round the pile three times, and, at the end of the last circuit, a pot of water being dashed to the ground, a sign that as water poured on the ground, such is the life of man—the pile was lit by the youth and the flames rushed up throwing a livid glare over the whole scene. Again the wailing sound but louder was heard, and as we thoughtfully wended our way home it was long ere its distant

adopted, but left behind him his mother, Her deceased Highness Avoo Bye Saiba, Her present Highness Kamatchee Bye Saiba, his senior widow, Queen Dowager, two daughters, and a great number of collateral relatives.

Before we narrate the several acts of the Honourable East India Company towards the 'heirs and successors' of their 'friend and ally,' the Rajah of Tanjore, let us take a glance at the subject-matter of each of these Treaties connectedly.

The first Treaty of Alliance was entered into in the year 1787, whereby it was declared: That the East India Company, and the Rajah of Tanjore, for himself, his heirs, and successors, adjusted and concluded a solid and permanent Treaty with the Company, and by which it was stipulated and agreed, that the friends and enemies of the one should be considered the friends and enemies of both; and that certain contributions or proportions of the revenue of the contracting parties should be united into one common stock, to be applied for mutual security and defence; and that the applications of the said contributions, both in peace and war, should be *reposed in the said United Company, the more effectually to secure the object of the Treaty.*

Five years afterwards, in the year 1792, it having been found that the resources of the country of Tanjore were not competent to fulfil the conditions

echoes died away on our ears. The next morning a little shed of exquisite workmanship covers the heap of white ashes which was all that was left of Sevajee, Mahrajah of Tanjore." *Note to Abbe Duboi's on the people of India. Reprint by Bookseller Higginbotham, edited by Dr. Pope.* page 214.

that had been agreed upon, with respect to the amount of the contributions to be paid by the Rajah, another Treaty was arranged, binding the heirs and successors of both parties, as well as themselves, to contribute certain sums of money for mutual defence; *the Rajah paying his share into the hands of the Company, through themselves as Collectors of the whole revenue of Tanjore.*

In 1799, a third Treaty was entered into with Surfojee, father of the late Sevajee, by which it was agreed by the contracting parties, that such parts of all the former Treaties, as were intended to establish friendship and alliance are, by the present one, strengthened and confined; and that the friends and enemies of either shall be considered to be the friends and enemies of both; and that the result of an inquiry, instituted by the authority of the Governor-General in Council, with the previous *written consent* of the Maha Rajah for the purpose of ascertaining the actual state and condition of the country of Tanjore, having proved, that a regular and permanent administration of the revenues had become indispensably necessary, all former Treaties for securing partial or temporary interference on the part of the Company should be annulled, and in lieu thereof a permanent system for the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice established, of which the Company were, as before, to have the entire management, setting aside a stipulated sum for the use and as the property of the Rajah, who was to maintain and garrison his own hereditary

Fort of Tanjore, and to be treated on all occasions within his own territories and those of the Company, with all the respect, attention, and honour which is due to a *friend and ally* of the British nation.

All these three Treaties testify for themselves, that they are *voluntary agreements* between two contracting parties, equally recognizing each other's independence, acting for their mutual advantage, as also, that these are of permanent endurance, and *entailed in perpetuity upon their heirs and successors*, and in fact the last Treaty was observed during a period of more than *fifty years*, continuing in full operation at the demise of the Rajah Sevajee, which took place on the 29th October 1855, on which event as he left no son, the Local Government proposed, that it should be declared that the Raj of Tanjore had become extinct, and that the East India Company had succeeded, as final heir to the entire property, public and private, of the deceased Sevajee Rajah. *O tempora! O mores!!*

Let us review seriatim the manner in which this Royal house was treated. What was the behaviour of the Honourable East India Company towards this Royal house,—We say, what was their conduct so far back as 1773? They captured the Fort of Tanjore, without the slightest cause or provocation, and dethroned its Rajah. This dastardly act caused the removal of the then Governor of Madras. The Rajah was restored in 1776, the aggression having been declared by the

Court of Directors, '*to have been founded upon pretences which were totally false.*' Mill,[1] the historian, commenting on the proceedings of 1773, emphatically expresses himself thus; 'Never, I suppose, was the resolution taken to make war upon a lawful sovereign with the view of 'reducing him entirely,' that is, stripping him of his dominions, and either putting him and his family to death, or making them pensioners for life, upon a more accommodating principle. We have done the Rajah great injury. We have no intention to do him right. This constitutes a full and sufficient reason for going on to his destruction. Such is the doctrine; the practical improvement is obvious. Dou you wish a good reason for effecting any body's destruction? First do him an injury sufficiently great, and then if you destroy him, you have, in the law of self-defence, an ample justification.'

What was the conduct of the Honourable East India Company in 1788, on the death of Rajah Tooljajee? Did they recognize his adoption of Surfojee? Not till much time and money had been spent. On that occasion Lord Melville expressed himself in these forcible words;[2]—'If the unjust possession of the present Rajah, and the deprivation of the rightful heir had taken place in consequence of any of those violences and convulsions, by which the Native Governments in India are so apt to be distracted, I should have thought the objection

1 Mill's History of India, Vol. II., Book V, Chapter IV.
2 Letter, dated Walmer Castle, 11th September 1797.

insurmountable; but it must be recollected that *we are in a great degree the authors of this injustice.* It was produced by our interference, obtained through the misrepresentations and corruptions of the person who is now reaping the benefit of it; *and the rightful heir has a great claim that we should interfere to remedy that injustice which originated in our interference.* If after such a lapse of time the native powers were to observe *us interfering in order to* carry *into effect any forfeiture in our own favour, it would afford just cause of reproach*; but in the present instance we would appear in the fair light of *honourably repairing that injury which we ourselves have been the innocent instrument of committing.*"[1] And Torrens, a recent historian, an ardent and felicitous writer commenting[2] on the acquisition of Tanjore, writes;—'*Among the earliest allies of the English on the Coromandel Coast, was the Rajah of Tanjóre.* In 1742, the reigning Prince had been deposed by domestic revolution, and Pretaph Sing obtained the throne. The authorities at Madras having no concern in the event, acknowledged the new Prince without hesitation. Their correspondence with him was continued without any interruption, and mutual expressions of fidelity and confidence were interchanged for more than seven years. At the end of this period Sahujee, the exiled Rajah, solicited their aid in effecting a counter-revolution. He offered, by way of recompense, if they should succeed, to grant them the Fort

1 Letter dated Walmer Castle, 11th September 1797.

2 Torrens' Empire in Asia, pp. 20, 21.

and Jaghire of Devicottah, and undertook to pay all expenses of the war. They accepted the offer. Pretaph was their ally; they had recently sought his assistance against the French; they had no pretence of provocation to urge against him: nevertheless 'they despatched an army to dethrone him.'[1] The expedition failed, but a second was resolved on. 'They determined, however,' says their apologist Malcolm, 'that the capture of Devicottah, not the restoration of Sahujee should be their first object.'[2] The fort was accordingly invested and taken. And no sooner was this accomplished, than they entered into a negotiation with Pretaph Sing,—agreed to desist from all further hostilities—not only to abandon him for whom they pretended to have heretofore fought, but engaged to secure his person and to receive a fixed sum for his maintenance, on condition of being suffered to remain undisputed masters of Devicottah and the circumjacent territory.[3] This was the beginning of the conquest of Hindoostan.'

What was the conduct of the East India Company in 1855, on the demise of His Highness Rajah Sevajee? Forbes was then Resident of Tanjore. He reported the matter to Government; he enunciated his own views. He pointed[4] out to the Madras Government, that the Raj was *not* extinct by the death of the Rajah *without male issue*; that many instances might be adduced of *females* having succeed-

1 Mill's History of India, Book IV., Chapter II.

2 Memoir of Lord Clive, Vol. I., Chapter I.

3 Mill's History of India, Book IV., Chapter II.

4 Vide Appendix.

ed to musnuds, in the history of Hindu dynasties; and he drew attention to the case of Saojan Bye, *who was the sixth Sovereign in this very dynasty of Tanjore,* and who succeeded her husband Baba Sahib, the fifth Sovereign, as his widow, on his death without male heir, with the universal approval of the Durbar and the people of the country.

It is preposterous to suppose that a female is excluded on account of *her sex* in the succession of Hindu Sovereigns.

The history of India affords numerous examples of female Hindu Sovereigns, who have succeeded their husbands dying without male issue. That the instances are not more numerous is safely attributable to the universal prevalence of adoption. Even when a Sovereign died without adopting a son, it was generally the practice for the widow to adopt one and reign as regent during his minority. Indian history is full of such events: but those in which the widow has succeeded in her own right, are sufficiently numerous to establish the *law* and *custom.* The historian Orme opens his admirable work with the story of the Queen of Trichinopoly, the neighbouring kingdom of Tanjore, who, on the death of her husband, reigned in her own right, and defended her Fort against Chunda Saheb, by whom she was treacherously imprisoned. Grant Duff makes mention of the Princess Tara Bye, who, on the death of her husband Raja Ram, the King of Satara, assumed the reins of Government during the minority of her son Sevajee, of which dynasty Tanjore is

a branch. Briggs narrates the story of Durgamattee, the Ranee of Gurra, 'celebrated for her beauty as for her good sense;' how she opposed Asaf Khan with an army of 1,500 elephants and 8,000 horse and foot, and how she stabbed herself with a dagger snatched from the girdle of her Mahout, rather than fall into the hand of her enemy, when in the heat of battle she was pierced by an arrow in the eye. Travancore has seen two female Sovereigns succeed each other, within the present century. A former Rajah of Mysore refused to *adopt*, expressly that his favorite Ranee might succeed him in her own right. Forbes cites the instances of two Princesses succeeding their consorts to the guddee of Kolapore, viz., of Durga Bye Sahiba, widow of His Highness Rajah of Kolapore, and also of Juga Bye Sahiba—this also being a sister dynasty of Tanjore.* History knows no nobler character than the illustrious Alhia Bye, of the great Mahratta family, of which the Rajahs of Tanjore are an off-shoot. It is thus that Malcolm, the historian, speaks of her in his history of Central India :—'It is not common with the Hindus (unless in those provinces where they have learned the degrading usage from their Maho-

* Evans Bell makes mention of Banka Bye, widow of Rughojee the second, the third Rajah of Nagpore, a lady of great talent and energy who had been Regent during her grandson's minority, and who had for upwards of fifty years exercised a dominant influence both in domestic and public affairs. This was a house of close affinity with Tanjore. In Southern India, on the throne of the Pandian House the celebrated Meenatchee succeeded her father, whom after posterity deified. The name also of Mungamah is popular. In the Barony of Ramnad the names of Mootoonatchiar Ammah, Mungalaswaree Ammal and Sivakamy Ammal are not uncommon.

medan conquerors) to confine females, to compel them to wear veils. The Mahrattas of rank (even the Brahmins) have, with few exceptions, rejected the custom which is not prescribed by any of their religious institutions. Ahlia Bye, therefore, offended no prejudice, when she took upon herself the direct management of affairs, and sat every day for a considerable period in open Durbar, transacting business. Her first principle of Government appears to have been moderate assessment, and an almost sacred respect for the native rights of village officers and proprietors of lands. She heard every complaint in person, and although she continually referred causes to Courts of Equity and Arbitration, and to her ministers, for settlement, she was always accessible; and so strong was her sense of duty, on all points connected with the distribution of justice, that she is represented as not only patient but unwearied in the investigation of the most insignificant causes, when appeals were made to her decision. Aware of the partiality which was to be expected from information supplied by members and adherents of the Holkar family, regarding Ahlia Bye, facts were collected from other quarters to guard against impressions which the usual details of her administration were calculated to make. It was thought the picture had been overcharged with bright colours, to bring it more into contrast with the opposite system that has since prevailed in countries she formerly governed; but although inquiries have been made among all ranks and classes, nothing has

been discovered to diminish the eulogiums, or rather blessings which are poured forth whenever her name is mentioned. The more, indeed, inquiry is pursued, the more admiration is excited; but it appears above all extraordinary, how she had mental and bodily powers to go through with the labors she imposed upon herself, and which from the age of thirty to that of sixty, when she died, were unremitted. The hours gained from the affairs of the State were all given to acts of devotion and charity; and a deep sense of religion appears to have strengthened her mind in the performance of her worldly duties. She used to say that she 'deemed herself answerable to God for every exercise of power; and in the full spirit of a pious and benevolent mind was wont to exclaim, when urged by her ministers to acts of extreme severity, 'Let us, mortals, beware how we destroy the works of the Almighty.''

With all these historical facts staring them in the face, with a perfect knowledge that the law and the custom of the country maintained the succession among Mahratta royalty of a surviving *widow or daughter*, the Court of Directors, by their proceedings of the 16th April 1856, declared that the Raj of Tanjore was extinct from want of a *male heir* claiming through a male. No allusion is made to the claims of the widow to succeed. The acts of the Madras Government on this occasion might be declared to be, to use the mildest expression, *shameful*. Forbes, who gratuitously constituted himself, when Resident of Tanjore, on the immediate demise

of Sevajee, the special advocate of the claims of the Princess of Tanjore, turns over and becomes appointed special Government auctioneer for the Honourable East India Company. To quote the words of an eye witness. 'Mr. Forbes'[1] first act was to march off many of the Rajah's horses, elephants, carriages, &c., to Madras, where they were disposed of by public auction. He then caused to be seized every scrap of land, not only belonging to the Rajah and the ladies of the family at the time of the Rajah's death, but even every scrap which at any time had belonged to the Rajah, no matter who was its present occupant. He further caused the Collector to issue a Proclamation, stating that this seizure was *only* for the purpose of compelling claimants to come in, and satisfy him as to their titles, whereon it was promised that the lands should be restored. He thus turned those in possession—which is nine points of the law—out of their properties: he made those Plaintiffs who should have been properly Defendants: he constituted himself Judge in his own cause and that of his employers, notwithstanding there were their own ordinary Courts open to them in the *very district of Tanjore*, in which they might have enforced any right, which they might conceive themselves to have, to any particular piece of property. Having thus seized all the landed property, the next step was to get hold of the personal. Accordingly Forbes took advantage of a Sepoy Regiment passing through

[1] J. B. Norton, late Advocate-General of Madras.

Tanjore—he had previously disarmed and disbanded the Regiment of the Rajah—to make his swoop upon all the valuables in the Palace. He marched a company into the Palace itself: he then broke open the Rajah's seal which had been placed upon the doors of several apartments containing valuables; he inspected every thing and took possession of all the jewels, the valuable cloths, the private armoury, the library, the furniture, by affixing his own seal to each door, and placing an armed sentry over it. It was thus he *desecrated* the sanctity of the Palace itself.'

Forbes, the auctioneer, is followed up by Philips as salesman, of whom the above quoted eye-witness writes: 'Mr. Philips has had an auction of pots and pans and other articles within the precincts of the Palace itself. He has sent up the valuable private armoury of the late Rajah to Madras for sale. On the ladies refusing to give him up the keys of their apartments, he has taken carpenters and blacksmiths, with picklocks and false keys, and thus opened the doors, and taken away property, as I am informed, of the value of many thousand Rupees from these apartments. A more indecent indignity has never yet been perpetrated in the annals of Residentship. It is a nice sort of job truly on which to employ one of the Sudder Judges; the highest Appellate Court in the land!'[1]

The next act of indignity that this Royal family was subjected to was, that Her Highness Camatchee Bye Sahiba, as the senior widow of the late Rajah,

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[1] J. B. Norton, Advocate for the Widows of the Rajah of Tanjore.

had to sue the East India Company for her husband's *private estate* and get a decree in her favor in the Local Courts. Against this decision the East India Company appealed to the Privy Council, who reversed the decision of the High Court, then Supreme Court. Sir Richard Bethel, the Attorney General, appeared for the Ranee ; Sir Hugh Caidus appeared for the Company. They held that Forbes' seizure was within the scope of his instructions and, as such, an act of State. But the judgment clearly points out the opinion entertained by that tribunal on the conduct of the Madras Government. These are Lord Kingsdown's words in his judgment. ' It is extremely difficult to discover in these papers *any ground of legal right*, on the part of the East India Company or of the Crown of Great Britain, to the possession of this Raj, or any part of the property of the Rajah on his death ; and, indeed, the seizure was denounced by the Attorney General (who from circumstances explained to us at the hearing, appeared as Counsel for the Respondents, and not in his official character for the Appellants) *as a most violent and unjustifiable measure.* The Rajah was an independent Sovereign of territories undoubtedly minute and bound by Treaties to a powerful neighbourhood, which left him, practically, little power of free action; but he did not hold his territory, such as it was, *as a fief of the British Crown or of the East India Company; nor does there appear to have been any pretence for claiming it, on the death of the Rajah without a son, by any legal title either as an escheat or as a bona vacante.*'

The following passages from the speech of the Attorney General, Sir Richard Bethel, are worthy of attention. It must be remembered, that though he was Counsel for the Ranee of Tanjore, he was also the highest law officer of the British Crown and the Government, and without good cause would not have committed himself to such language. 'On the death of the last Rajah in 1855,' he says, 'this most extraordinary act was done by the Company : I hope an act for which there are few similar precedents in the history of its proceedings in India. In page 47 it appears that the Court of Directors issued a Decree, conceived as your Lordships will observe, in a style to which I know no parallel nor any thing similar, saving the celebrated Decrees of the first Napoleon, in which he was in the habit of announcing *that a kingdom had ceased to exist, or that a royal family had ceased to reign.*'

And again :—'By what principle, by what species of law, on what ground of reasoning are you to justify the *ergo* of the East India Company ; that, because the Rajahship had ceased to exist, ergo the East India Company are entitled to come in and take possession ; to appropriate to themselves every thing that belongs to the Rajahship of Tanjore. *It is one of the most astonishing, one of the most frightful things in point of justice, of reason, and of law, that I ever met with.* Who made the East India Company the *Ultimus Hœres* of the Rajah of Tanjore ? Who gave them the right to enter in and take possession, because they pronounced that the dig-

nity, the Kingdom, the Sovereignty has come to an end? There is not one particle of justice, or law, or of principle, that can be brought forward for a moment to maintain this proposition; but putting aside the natural indignation with which one contemplates this act of violence and force, which is only to be referred to the good old rule, the simple plan, 'That they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can;' if that is to be allowed as the ground of it, let it be allowed, and we shall know how to deal with it.'

And again:—'I want therefore to know on what earthly ground it is put, that the East India Company hence become entitled to this Sovereignty, to all the possessions, to all the territories, all the property: because my friend Mr. Forsyth has told us, that there is no distinction between Public and Private at all, but that *it all falls into this universal drag-net of this all grasping Company*, and accordingly the widows and daughters of the Rajah, however numerous they might be, are to be left without one particle or one penny of provision.'

And again:—'If I grant, for a moment, that certain portions of the prerogative are given to the East India Company, the question remains, whether the thing done has been done by virtue of that prerogative? Now have your Lordships found anywhere, or can you point anywhere, to the particular words of any Charter, to the language of any Act of Parliament, to any thing that can be pleaded, to justify a thing done by the East India Company of seizing

upon this estate of Tanjore? I dwell upon that, and for this reason; a Sovereign power has no necessity to give a reason; it is sufficient for the Sovereign power to say *sic vole sic jubio;* but one individual or a number of individuals having no pretence to be regarded as a Sovereign power, but deriving from their own legitimate Sovereign certain powers and authorities, can only use their borrowed light, may only avail themselves of their delegated authority, for the justification of those things that come within the orbit and scope of that authority. If the argument, therefore, should avail the East India Company, the East India Company should have said, we have got here given to us by the Crown authority and power, *per fas aut nefas*, to seize any thing within the geographical limits of India. If it is fully expounded, it comes to this frightful thing: they had authority to make war on the heathen and to plunder the heathen just as they thought proper; and that for whatever they did in the exercise of this system of rapacity, they claimed the authority of the British Crown, and could say, we have the power to do this, and we have a right to do it, and do not complain of us; complain of the English Crown that has authorised the commission of this deed. My Lords, is that language capable of being brought forward in a Court of Justice; can this thing be proved to be an act of State, done by certain persons who are subjects of the British Crown; unless it can be shown to be an act of State of the British Crown itself; and if it is a thing that is ca-

pable of being brought forward in that capacity, then show me your warrant from the British Crown. Show me the authority in any one of these Statutes or any one of these Charters, by which you have done this thing, viz., you have entered on the inheritance of another and displaced the widow and family of this deceased man. Produce a title for doing it; by what warranty do you do it? You say, it is an act of State, show me your warrant of the Crown to do it. My Lords, it cannot be done; if that is the position in which the East India Company stand, if they have taken possession, if they have actually entered into the inheritance there, and possessed themselves of the property and held it, and they are incapable of putting a finger on any Grant of the Crown, or any Statute that justifies them; the pleading that it is an act of State, *is nothing else, but a mockery of the name of the Supreme power of the State?*'

And he concluded :—'I lamented again and again when we passed these Statutes; and it was not my fault that we had not a clause clearly giving your Lordship's authority beyond all question, to put an end to these things which are the *opprobria* of the British name—*these acts of spoliation and injustice*. And then, they attempt to set up the Company who do it, as not being amenable to any law or *power of giving justice to the defeated, the plundered, and the robbed.*'

Rajah Sevajee, with his demise left behind him his senior widow, Her Highness Kamatchee

Bye Sahiba, and two daughters. These children were born to his first wife who pre-deceased him. His first daughter was Her deceased Highness Rajasa Boje Ammanee Rajury Bye, who during the life time of her father was given in marriage to Rajah Sacaram Row Sahib Mohitay, Ameer Row, a Prince of the royal family of Kolapore. She died without issue. The second daughter of the Rajah of Tanjore was Her Highness Vejaya Mohana Mooctumbor Bye Ammanee Rajay. When Sevajee died in 1855, she was a child of ten years of age. When she arrived at the age of fourteen, she was given in marriage by the Madras Government, who had assumed the territories of the Rajah of Tanjore, to the same royal personage, Rajah Sacaram Sahib. She is now about twenty-five years of age and is the SOLE SURVIVING REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MAHRATTA RAJ OF TANJORE, being the child of Sevajee, and the grandchild of Surfojee. She is a young woman possessing every personal charm, reflecting in an eminent degree the noble mind and deportment of her grandfather, Surfojee. She is healthy, intelligent and educated. Mr. Forbes, the Resident of Tanjore, when laying her claims for the musnud of her forefathers, for the favourable consideration of the Madras Government, speaks in these most touching terms :—

'The Government will decide on the justice of this daughter's claim, and on the policy of maintaining the Raj. In considering the question they will not lose sight of the manner in

which we became possessed of Tanjore. It is not a conquered country; *its acquisition never cost the British Government the life of a single soldier, nor the value of a single rupee; the cry of the orphan was never heard, nor was the tear of the widow ever shed, when* the rule of the country passed from the Rajah to the hands of our Government. In the fifty years during which we have held possession, we have in round numbers drawn from it a total revenue of no less than *twenty crores, or as many millions sterling.* Neither Surfojee nor Sevajee ever offered the smallest hinderance to our peaceable settlement of the country, or *in any degree whatever departed from the strictest adherence to the Treaty;* truly, it deserves consideration how the Government should act towards the last descendant of a royal line, to a daughter of those, who *when their aid was needed were always our firm allies.*'

The fate of the State of Tanjore was in every respect similar to the destiny of the State of Nagpore. The mandate of the Governor-General of India that, in 1854, extinguished the Raj of Nagpore, in 1855 set aside the Raj of Tanjore. The representation of Resident Mansel of Nagpore was as futile as the advocacy of Forbes of Tanjore. The Government took measures to extinguish the Raj of Tanjore; minutes were recorded of the value of the State jewels, no more to be considered heir-looms in a family about to be stripped of royal rank and fortune; and gems and jewels which had been known,

from time immemorial, to have adorned the person of royal beauty, were sold by public auction; and these royal personages were converted into pensioners. The words and sentiments that have been expressed so forcibly by Torrens on the spoliation of Nagpore are also applicable to Tanjore.[1]

'Can any one be at a loss regarding the impression made on the mind of every prince of India by the public sale, in the metropolis of the East, of the personal effects of one who, throughout his reign, had been our faithful ally? Can any one doubt that the advertisement was execrated in every bazaar, and cursed in every tannah, as a threatening notice ostentatiously given, that the picklock of despotism would be used without shame as an implement of exaction, and none could tell whose regalia or casket would next be rifled. Our historians are never weary of reprobating the sudden and summary decree of Bayonne, in which Napoleon informed the world that in the Peninsula, the house of Bourbon had ceased to reign; and in reprobating the duress under which an imbecile sovereign was driven into an act of formal abdication. And many severe things have been justly said of the pictures taken from the Escurial, and of the bronze steeds borne away from the Piazza of San Mare. But at least, Napoleon cannot be upbraided with stealing or selling the gems and apparel of his victims. It was bad enough to appropriate the sword of Frederick; but Napoleon, unscrupulous though he was, would have

[1] Empire in Asia.

been ashamed to make away with rings and necklaces of the Prussian Queen, and then to have put them up to the highest bidder among the brokers of his capital. If vice loses half its hideousness by losing all its grossness, it may likewise be said that public violence becomes more hateful when it is tarnished with the reproach of base cupidity. At the very time when the Queen's Governor-General in Asia was thus playing the freebooter and auctioneer, our Foreign Secretary was addressing to the Court of St. Petersburg remonstrances against the sequestration of the revenues of certain Polish noblemen upon suspicion of their complicity in seditious designs. Well might the minister of the Czar scornfully retort,—'Physician, heal thyself.'

The East India Company swore on their honour, to the Rajah of Tanjore and their successors, that the honour and dignity of their family shall be preserved to them *inviolate and everlastingly*, and the Proclamation of the Queen in plainer words enunciates the same truth in favour of all the Princes of India. 'Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved to take upon ourselves the Government of India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company. We do by these presents notify and declare that we have taken upon ourselves the said Government, and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance, to ourselves, our heirs and successors. We hereby announce to the Native Princes

of India, that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by, or under the authority of, the Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our territorial possesions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominion or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own.' What words can be plainer! What language more honourable and intelligible! and what terms more precise and creditable! Would that we could say that an intelligent and honourable Government had nobly endorsed and maintained in tact their professions of good faith! Would that our barons could swell with honest pride, and that we could proclaim the noble acts of a free and ingenuous Government! Would that we could produce a record of the just and upright dealings of a Christian Government towards helpless females who have implored their protection, and towards whom the Government have elected to stand *in loco parentis*. For the Government constituted itself *ultimus hæres* to the Rajah of Tanjore, and if they be rightly such, what was their bounden duty. Viewed politically, of course, the present Princess of Tanjore is in no better position than other members of the body politic, but viewed as the only daughter of a royal line and of the prince, her

late father, the relative position of the Princess and the Government becomes stronger and her claims to protection and sympathy greater. As the daughter of an eminent royal family, she has every reason to expect that her rights, as such, will be respected and supported, and that whereinsoever they are infringed or attempted to be infringed, the Government, as her lawful guardians and protectors, self-constituted and self-elected as they are, will step into the breach, and by an interposition of their authority, not only repair the wrong, and the injury done, but punish the offender, as well as provide means to prevent the recurrence of irregularities so as to secure the rights and privileges of the Princess, inviolate and intact. Such, no doubt, was the expectation of the Rajah of Tanjore, who entered into Treaty witht he British, and such, no doubt, was the honest intention of Government when they, on their part, subscribed the articles. But the mania for annexation, demon-like, has seemingly paralyzed those principles of rectitude and integrity which influenced the rulers of the olden time, and now alas! appears to have rendered them callous to the calls of honour and fair dealing.

The Queen of England, whose world-wide fame has reached this sunny land, and whose royal sympathy and affection for the oppressed and distressed of every clime and country, has become a household word, *will not suffer an injured Princess* to call in vain for justice; and the women of England, soft and gentle and noble as their benign and illus-

trious Sovereign, when told of this tale of sadness, will feel with their injured sister of India, and not permit the wrong to continue—the degradation of a Princess from a princely to a plebean state. Hearts so tender as theirs will listen to the tale of sorrow and suffering, and melt with sadness to a weak and helpless woman's plaint. Then that influence which the softer has over the sterner sex will and must be felt, and things now crooked be speedily and effectively made straight.

As the present Princess of Tanjore was given in marriage to *Rajah Sacaram Sahib*, the question arises who is this personage? We have already asserted, that, of the several Mahratta Chieftain families, the Bhonslays and Mohitays were prominent during the dominancy of Mahratta Power, on the Western Coast. Hence, among the kingly families, intermarriages with Bhonslays and Mohitays were not uncommon.

The Bhonslay family was of very ancient date. In the prophetical Puranas, designated *Bhavishottara*, and in the historical volumes, called *Bhagavataim*, and *Harivamsam*, and in other minor works, we find it stated that the ancient king *Satadanva* sprung of the Solar race, set out from Northern India, most probably from the regions near ancient Oude, and settled near the Vindiah Mountains, south of the Nurbbuda. He was known under the name of *Sissoday*, whose ancestor was a Rajpoot by birth and descent. Sissoday founded the Royal house and Principality of Chitore, now existing as

one of the most ancient States in the province of Rajaputana, which country might aptly be styled as the motherland of the Hindu Rajahs.

The kingdom of Sissoday before it merged into the principality of the Rana of Chitore, had existed 1,680 years, before its conquest by Shalivahan,[1] who put the whole of the members of this family to death, except one woman, who, having escaped with her infant son found shelter and subsistence in a miraculous manner amongst the Sautpoora Mountains, this son was Satadanva, surnamed Sissoday, who became the founder of the family of the Rana of Chitore, from whom sprang the Ranas of Odyapoor.

Sissoday gave birth to a son, named *Lutchman Pal,* who travelled into strange countries, and returned bringing with him a beautiful damsel from Singala Dweep, the ancient Sanscrit name of the Island of Ceylon. This maiden was of the *Padmini** race, and was remarkable for symmetry, beauty, and accomplishments. The fame of the transcendant loveliness of this woman spread so far and wide that it reached the ears of the Emperor† of

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1 Duff's Mahratta History.

* Padmini is a Sanscrit word for a woman of rosy colour. The author of the Cocoaham is the Sarkanapalus of India. His work is proscribed as obscene. He divides woman kind into four classes, viz. : Padmini or Patini (పద్మిని or పత్తిని), Sankini (శంకిని), Chittini (చిత్తిని), and Hasthini (హస్తిని). Though the work on the whole is objectionable, I am inclined to think, that it contains facts, on amotary matters, based upon experience, worthy of consideration and observation. Padmini is an expression applied to a woman of incomparable rose beauty and unexceptional chastity. Here it is a proper name as well.

† Alla-o-din.

Delhi, who inflamed with unholy passion, used every endeavour to obtain her, and sever her from the arms of Lutchman Pal, her consort. Many a battle was fought, and Lutchman Pal, on account of his great knowledge and abilities, his vast foreign travels, his military prowess, and his unparalleled deeds of valour, won for himself the name and title of Maha Râna. Lutchman Pal fell in battle, fighting against the Emperor of Delhi, and his sons dispersed into different countries, and founded various principalities. Taking Lutchman Pal as the main stock or the first generation, the kingdoms of Kutch and Odyapoor were founded by Princes of this family, of the third generation; the kingdoms of Nepaul and Saindhawady by the Princes of the sixth generation of the aforesaid family; and of the seventeenth generation, Malojee sprung, whose royal family in course of time gave birth to Sevajee the great, the founder of the Mahratta Empire.

Thus, it will be seen that the Mahratta Royal families were purely of Rajpoot origin, but were erroneously called Mahratta by Native and more particularly by European Historians, simply because these princes adopted the Mahratta language as their mother tongue. This will be borne out by the Genealogical Chart, furnished to the Home Authorities and to the Indian Government, by Pratab Sing, Maha Rajah of Satara.

Thus, the principalities of Chitore and Odyapoor are as mothers that have given birth to the daughter

principalities of Satara, Kolapore, Tanjore, Saindhavady, Nagpore, Kutch,* Bhooj, and Nepaul.

Next in importance with the Bhonslay house, the Mohitay family come into consideration. For the earliest information regarding this house we are indebted to Persian Historians. From a work called *Boosatin Salatin*, and another titled *Khulasatul Delhi*, and other minor works, we come to know that a tribe, called *Chavan*, sprung from the caste of Rajpoots, ruled at a very remote period over the country of Delhi.

The Princes of this house lived in continual warfare with the Mahomedan invaders of India, and it is supposed that during the time of the invasion of Mahomit Ghuzni, they succumbed, and Delhi was taken possession of. The Mahomedans, however, allowed the princes of this family, to hold small principalities, and treated them on account of their antecedents and natural valour, with royal honours.

They, however, suffered various vicissitudes of fortune, and while ruling over a country, called *Hadothy*, they took the surname of *Haday*, with their former name of Chavan. Thus the incorporation of a double title of *Chavan Haday*.

We are informed that they were of invaluable assistance to the Emperor of Delhi in his wars, and that on one occasion, the princes of this family by their assistance, during troublous times, saved the prestige and name of the Emperor, and he in gratitude, bestowed various rewards on them, and con-

* Jharejee is the title of the Rajpoot race in Kutch; they are descendants of the Yadus and claim from Crishna. In early ages they inhabited the tracts on the Indus and in Sewisthan. TOD'S *Rajastan*, p. 142.

ferred on them various insignia of royal honours, with the title of *Mohitay*, which is an Arabic word, derived from *Moheem*, which signifies the victorious in battle, or Mohitay, the victorious.

Thus we come to know, that in course of time, the Mahomedan Kings of the Deccan, comprising the kingdoms of Beder, Dowlatabad, Bheejapoor, and Golconda, courted the assistance of a Prince of this family, named Runga Row Chavan Mohitay. He was delegated to fight against Ram Rajah, the Rajah of Viziapoor, and with 4,000 horse, he fought against the Rajah, who had a force of 60,000, and is supposed to have gained the victory in A.D. 1564, corresponding with the Hejira 972. Hence the Mahratta title of *Row Sahib Ameer Row, Mohitay*, corruptly called Ambeer Row, which title is now borne by Rajah Sacaram Sahib, whose style of address is *Rajah Sacaram Row Sahib, Choban Row*,* *Ameer Row Mohitay.* Now to give a description of the personal appearance of Rajah Sacaram Sahib. He is a man of the ordinary size, well built and of happy proportions, of fair brown complexion, with a dark head of hair, with eyes betokening intelligence as well as cunning, with a nose quite Mahratta. In conversation pleasing, possessing a sprinkling knowledge of English. With the Mahratta and Hindustani he is conversant. We are of opinion that had he been present in his princely habiliments at the levee held by His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinborough at the Presidency in 1872, he would

* I am since informed of this fact.

have eclipsed many a Rajah and Prince that came to do honour to the Son of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen. His Excellency is about 47 years of age.

In the erudite work of Grant Duff, on the History of the Mahrattas, we find frequent allusions made to the Mohitay family. Thus we read of Shahjee the Great, marrying into the Mohitay family, his second wife being Tooka Bye Mohitay, by whom he had a son called Venkajee, the Founder of the Tanjore Mahratta Raj. So far back as A. D. 1578, a Chief under the Beejapoor Government, called Moray, a native of the Carnatic, was appointed in the reign of Eusoof Adel Shah to the command of a body of 12,000 Hindu Infantry for the purpose of reducing that strange tract which is between the Neera and Warna rivers. In this enterprise Moray was successful; he dispossessed the descendants of the Rajah of Sirkay, suppressed the depredations of their abettors, the principal of whom were families named Goozur, Mamoolkur, Mohitay and Mahareak. Sevajee, the son of Shahjee, also married into the Mohitay family. His third wife, Pootla Bye, was of the family of Mohitay.* When Sevajee was contending for independence against the Beejapoor Government, while his father Shahjee was in the Carnatic, the Mohitay family were his staunch adherents, so much so, that when Sevajee asserted his independence, he had by force to put down the Mohitays who, like his father, were

* The Sattara records state that Subyee Bye, Sivajee's first wife, was of the house of Mohitay. Grant Duff makes her of the family of Nimbulkur, Duff produces a quaint reason.

supporters of the Beejapoor Government. Bajee Mohitay, the brother of Tooka Bye, Shahjee's second wife, was manager of the district of Sopa. He had 300 good horses, he occupied Sopa and subsequently growing independent, he refused to pay the revenue or listen to any overtures authorised by Shahjee. Sevajee clandestinely surrounded Sopa, and in the middle of the night, with a party of Mawulees surprised Bajee Mohitay and his parties, took them prisoners, and sent Mohitay together with all who did not choose to enter his service to join his father in the Carnatic. Thus, in A.D. 1647, the Mohitay family found their way to the Eastern Coast. When Sevajee had established himself he treated the Mohitays as relations of his wife with leniency, and raised them to posts of honour and prominency. Thus we read that in the action against Abdool Careem, in A.D. 1674, Hussajee Mohitay, a commander of 5,000 horse distinguished himself, and in his division two officers greatly distinguished themselves. Sevajee on that occasion greatly extolled the conduct of Hussajee Mohitay and appointed him Surnibut[1] with the title of Ameer Row.[2] Ameer Row was of invaluable service to Sevajee; his exploits live in Mahratta legendary and song. In the battles of Sevajee against the aggressions of the Moguls the valour and intrepidity of Ameer Row are conspicuous. In A.D. 1675, in the action against Dilerekhan the Mogul, the prowess of Ameer Row

[1] Sanaputtee, Commander-in-Chief.

[2] Duff erroneously spells this word Humbeer Rao. The word is Persian and *Ameer* means one thing and *Ambeer* another.

saved the prestige of Sevajee. The Sanaputty, it is said, ascended one of the passes near Surat, divided his horse into several bodies, plundered the country to Berhampoor and from thence to Mahoor. One of his parties levied contributions in the Baroach district, being the first body of Mahrattas that ever crossed the Nerbuddah. On his route homewards Ameer Row passed the Godavery, hotly pursued by Delah Khan, and with difficulty brought off the valuable booty he had taken. In A. D. 1678 when Sevajee and Venkajee were disputing over their father's territorial acquisitions in the Carnatic, Ameer Row was an adherent of Sevajee, and in A. D. 1689 after the death of Sevajee, when Raja Ram and Sumbajee, the sons of Sevajee, were contending for their father's dominions, Ameer Row, pleased with the intrepid conduct of Sumbajee in taking by surprise the fort and town of Kolapore, advanced and paid his respects to him as a son worthy of his father, and in 1685 we read of the troops of Sumbajee in the Concan under the command of Ameer Row appearing at Burhampore, plundering it of much property and riches for several days and retiring as rapidly as their heavy load would permit, leaving the whole country, in the route from Burhampore to Nassuck in a blaze. The last we read of this great man is in A. D. 1687. In the struggles of Sumbajee against the emperor Aurungzebe in the action of Sharza Khan, who penetrated as far as Waee, he was attacked and defeated by Ameer Row the Sanaputty, a victory dearly pur-

chased by the loss of Ameer Row, who was mortally wounded on the occasion.

We also find that Shao, a Rajah of Satara, had married into the Mohitay family; for his youngest wife was Sagoona Bye Mohitay, and we also read of Tara Bye, the man queen of Kolapore, who was a decided Mohitay, as shown in her reproaches of Raja Ram, for she declared that he could not be her grandson, or the descendant of the great Sevajee; that he was neither a Bhonslay nor a Mohitay, but a base born Gonadulee,[1] changed in the house where he had been first conveyed. Bimbajee Bhonslay, the youngest brother of Janojee, married one of the relations of the Mohitay family. The dissensions at the Court of Poona obliged Janojee to take his departure to Berar, thus the close connection of the princes of Berar with the house of Mohitay, and so late as A. D. 1798 the Mohitays appear in connection with the Rajah of Satara, for we read of his flying troops being rallied by his relations Yellojee and Senajee Mohitay, when both these personages distinguished themselves and fell valiantly in battle.

Following up the Tanjore manuscripts we find that Tookajee, who sat on the Tanjore musnud in A. D. 1729, married Aranah Bye Mohitay, and during the reign of the last Sevajee, and so late as 1837, his eldest daughter was given in marriage to Rajah Succaram Row Sahib Mohitay Ameer Row, a prince of the royal family of Kolapore. Mr.

[1] Child of a dancing girl.

Forbes, when Resident of Tanjore, in his letter to the Madras Government, dated 6th November 1855, tells the Government that this individual is of the family of the Rajah of Kolapore, and in a petition addressed by Her Highness M. Kamatchee Bye Sahiba, the Dowager Queen of Tanjore, to the Secretary of State, and bearing date 10th December 1870, she speaks of the above-said individual in manner following: 'This prince is a descendant of the royal family of Kolapore, and was selected by the late Rajah (Sevajee), being taken away from his relatives with the intention of being made an *Uvaraj* or Prince Heir Apparent. Accordingly he was anointed by the Rajah as *Gharjavojee*, or Palace son-in-law, and he continued to administer the public and private affairs of the Rajah until the sequestration of the Raj in 1857.'

The present princess of Tanjore was also given in marriage in 1857 to Rajah Succaram Sahib.

The Feudal System is as inherent to India as to England. In fact, if we were to look into the history of nations, we would find that it takes its origin with India, for indisputably the people of India were the first civilized nation of the world; archæological researches establish this; for all Arts, Sciences, Religion, Civilization and Government took their rise in India, and from India, Egypt borrowed, and from Egypt, Greece, and from Greece, Rome, and from Rome, Carthage, and from Carthage, Gaul, and from Gaul, Italy, and from Italy, England. When India was in the zenith of its

glory, England, known as Britannia, had no existence.

The terms *Rajah*, *Zemindar* and *Poligar* are conventional, and correspond with the English titles of King, Prince, and Baron. The word Poligar is derived from Palium, which is a military term, and signifies a state which affords help of men and arms in time of war to its Sovereign. The word Zemindar is derived from Zemin or Jammah, and signifies a Lord who has hereditary territorial rights conferred on him, in perpetuity, for services rendered to his king. The word Raj or Rajah signifies a Sovereign or King, and in its etymology, is as ancient as the Vedas; it is derived from Ram, who is the hero-king of the Ramayanum; and in Hindu history and religion, the first and greatest of kings. From him are supposed to be born the rulers of India, hence the name Rajput, a word composed of Ram or Raj, and Put, the former signifying a king, and the latter, the son of a king. To English ears these words carry with them simple ostentation, but words have buried in them the histories of the past. The aristocracy of England have ever been tenacious of their titles, their honours, their privileges, and their precedencies, and, as they are now getting better acquainted with the aristocracy of India, Mahomedan Nabobs and Hindu Rajahs, let them offer them the right hand of fellowship.

We have traced out, up to date, the history of the Mahratta Royal House of Tanjore, and we have endeavoured to awaken the sympathy of the public

for the forlorn condition of the Princess of Tanjore. That the East India Company has done her injustice, must be, unquestionably, admitted ; and the only justfication that could be set up by the best apologists of the defunct Company is that, imbued with avarice, as traders and merchants, that seeking territorial aggrandizement, they lost sight of the principles of good Government based upon justice and equity. The mutiny of 1857 taught them a terrible lesson, and closed with their annihilation. The Queen of England is now the Empress of India. From her Throne, more costly, more consolidated, than the Peacock throne of the Emperors of Delhi, she has vouchsafed her protection by her Proclamation,—the Magna Charta of the Princes of India. To that throne, the Princess of Tanjore now appeals. Ever since 1857, the Royal Family of Tanjore have been mourners, weeping over the past, weeping over the present, and weeping over the future ; and their lamentations have been couched in the words of 'the awful[1] rebuke past by the natives of Scinde, of their Christian conquerors, as they were led into captivity,— 'Now we perceive that there is no hope for us of judgment or justice until God Almighty shall sit in the last great adalut.'

The darkest night has its dawning day, the most sable cloud has its silver lining, and as long as there

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1 Lord Shaftesbury. Lord Ashely—debate in the house of Commons on the Amirs of Scinde, February 8th, 1844.

is life, there is hope. We presume, and venture to predict mighty changes when we see the past resuscitated in the present. When Surfojee, the best of the Mahratta Princes of Tanjore, the grand-father of the present princess, was setting forth his claims for the musnud of his fathers and acquired that musnud, it was a Lord Hobart who was Governor of Madras, and it was a Baring, who was a leading member of the Court of Directors: and now when the suppliant princess, Surfojee's grand-daughter, presses forward with her rights and wrongs, it is Lord Hobart who is Governor of Madras, and Baring, alias Lord Northbrook, who is the Governor-General and Viceroy of India.

And now what is the "conclusion of the whole matter." What we write suggestively, we also write advisedly. The hand that has inflicted the wound has also the power to cure. Where there is a wrong, there also exists a remedy. The fiat of the Courts of Directors; 'By no law or usage however, has the daughter of a Hindu Rajah any right of succession to the Raj : and it is entirely out of the question, that we should create such a right, for the sole purpose of prepetuating a titular principality at a great cost to the public revenue;' was no doubt a splendid sophism, but nevertheless, a perfect fallacism. We have traced the history of this principality, as it existed, before the British crossed the Indian seas, and its state, when the British were contending for Indian ascendancy. In the whole of this Presidency of Madras, was there any

power greater than the principality of Tanjore, next to the throne of Aurungzebe? We know that the Mahrattas, as a power, contended for supremacy and won that supremacy against Mogul and Mahomedan Satraps. Vizianagrum, Ramnad, Sivagunga, Puducottah, Cochin, and even Travancore,—what were these in the balance of power, compared to the Mahratta Principality of Tanjore, and yet they exist in their entirety.

We deferentially submit it to Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras—to Lord Northbrook, the Governor-General and Viceroy of India—to His Grace the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India—and we ask them;—Has the dictum, '*by no law or usage however, has the daughter of a Hindu Rajah any right of succession to the Raj,*' any foundation, to stand upon? What would Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, and Strange say to this? It would provoke in them a smile. And we ask, was indeed the Mahratta Principality of Tanjore, a "*titular principality?*" and we go still further—we weigh the subject deliberately and conscientiously; and we ask "*if its perpetuation*" would have been indeed, as asserted, a "*creation*" of the Company now defunct, and "*a great cost to the public revenue.*"

During the life time of Surfojee and Sevajee, and during the fifty years we have held its revenue in possession up to 1855, '*its acquisition never cost the British Government the life of a single soldier, nor the value of a single rupee; the cry of the*

orphan was never heard, nor was the tear of the widow ever shed; and we have, in round numbers, drawn from it, a total revenue of no less than *twenty crores, or as many millions sterling;'* and if we were to roughly calculate its revenues, as now improved, we have drawn from it since 1855 to 1873, a period of eighteen years, eighteen crores and twenty laks. Was, indeed, the perpetuation of the Raj a loss to the British Government, when the revenue allotted to the Rajah was 70,000 Rupees per mensem, and per annum 8,40,000 Rupees, with one-fifth share of the nett revenues of the State?

Now, in these days, when the British Government are alive to the interests of the Princes of India—when from the throne of England the Proclamation has gone forth, and from the Viceregal seat of Calcutta, the adoption minute has issued; when Princes—Mahomedan and Hindu—are pressing forward for prestige, for privileges, for precedence—and the Queen, as the Empress of India, has assimilated herself with the crowned heads of Hindoostan—we ask, and we emphatically ask, what has been done for Tanjore?

Has the British Government treated the Princess as becomes her position, and rank? Has she not a claim to the revenues ceded to her father and the hereditary right within her own fort? After wearied years of struggle, Prince Azimjah, and his rights have been recognized. We ask, what has been done for this principality? As the present Princess is situated, she is perfectly useless to her

self, and to the public at large. She cannot leave the precincts of her palace, for where are her honours as a Princess! Where are the outward marks of respect! Where are the conferring of dignities, which so become her as a princess, born of a royal line of kings!

EVENING AND MORNING.

CHAPTER VII.

"Britain has become heir to the monuments of Indraprustha raised by the descendants of Boodha and Ello; to the iron pillar of the Pandus "whose pedestal[1] is fixed in hell," to the columns reared to victory inscribed with characters yet unknown, to the massive ruins of its ancient continuous cities, encompassing a space still larger than the largest city in the world, whose mouldering domes and sites of fortresses, the very names of which are lost, present a noble field for speculation on the ephemeral nature of power and glory. What monument would Britain bequeath to distant posterity of her succession to this dominion? *Not one: except it be that of a still less perishable nature, the Monument of national benefit. Much is in our power. Much has been given, and posterity will demand the result.*"[2] TOD.

A REVOLUTION is not a thing of every day occurrence; nor is it the growth of a second. Its cause is human, it is also divine. Man is the medium. God is the invisible Mover. Reasons have been assigned for the Indian Revolution of 1857, which in our opinion, are simple subterfuges—a way of getting over a difficulty.

The 'Sepoy Revolt,' as it is technically called, was the union, and the out-burst of the rage of aggrieved Humanity, and the wrath of offended Deity. A Nation, and a God, outraged. 'Marvellous,' says

1 The kheel or iron pillar of the Pandus is mentioned in the poems of Chund. An infidel Zuar prince wished to prove the truth of the tradition of its depth of foundation: "blood gushed up from the earth's centre, the pillar became loose (dhilli)," as did the fortune of the house from such impiety. This is the origin of Delhi. Vide Appendix M.

2 Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Volume 1, pages 29-30.

Mead, 'are the ways by which Providence works out its ends. The leopard that we have trained to hunt for us has turned upon his master, whilst the poor dumb beasts of burden, which are cruelly oppressed, bear their heavy loads in silence. Had the sepoys not rebelled, *the wrongs of India might have gone on accumulating, until God grew utterly weary of us*; and had the ryots risen at this time there would have been *no future for us in the East*. As it is, we can atone as a nation for the past. We have no apology to offer to the Brahmin, no injustice to own in the case of the sepoy; but to *ruined noble* and *miserable peasant* we acknowledge a debt of repentance, and trust that the first instalment of it may be paid without an hour's delay.'[1]

One revolution is the precursor of many. We are no alarmists. We are not disaffected. Though born in India, we are not Indian. The crown of England, we hope, shall ever have our allegiance, and the cross of Christ our adoration. But—we shall respect and advocate the rights of any nation, based upon immemorial custom; for such is law, human and divine.

A revolution, however, should be admonitory, pointing out the weakness and the strength of those *who rule*, and of those *who are ruled*. Truly, the past, that has been, has established it without controversy —*that moral strength is more lasting than physical.*

Over desert plains and wildernesses, opposed by barbarous hordes, across mountains and rivers, came *alien* races to conquer India, goaded on by the lust

[1] The Sepoy Revolt, p. 178.—MEAD.

of gold. The Assyrian Queen Semiramis—Sesostris the Egyptain—Darius the Persian—Alexander the Greek—the ruthless Arab—the reckless Tartar—the insatiate Mogul, with sword in hand, challenging the warlike spirit of India and her impregnable battlements of *nature*, doubly fenced by *art.* India was theirs, by the right of conquest. But how came Britain here ? Not across the burning plains of Khorassan, the unfordable mountain streams of the Punjab—the natural barriers of the Himalayas; not beset by the serried ranks of Indian chieftains—not for the purpose of plot and plunder—*not as foes—but as friends, as merchants, seeking favour and protection.*

The right of Britain to India was that of grant, of allegiance, of alliance, of trust; therefore—the Princes of India sought the protection of England;—their diadems and kingdoms; the mysteries of their sacred volumes; their lives and property, were entrusted to England's safe-keeping. No nation has known India as Britain has, and yet what has been her policy towards her ?

It is remarkable, that all Asian invaders of India entered from the north—by the Kyber pass—the pelusium of India; but European invasion set in from the south. Many hard things might be said and have been said, of the *regimè* of the Honorable East India Company, now defunct. But it must be remembered, that they came as traders, therefore, *avarice was their hobby.* Fortuitous circumstances compelled them to relinquish the counter for the sword, the sword for the sceptre.

However, an Empire has certainly been built up by them. The question now is—*are we to keep that Empire?* and *how are we to effect this?* It was the Clivian policy that, as India was won by the sword, it must be kept by the sword;—and it was the Dalhousian policy to do away with 'crowned heads.' No greater governmental folly or fallacy. 'The powers that be, are of God,' and a conquered people might, for a time, seem subservient under *force*, but, *when an opportunity avails them, they will break the fetters that bind.* Good faith and confidence alone will secure their everlasting allegiance.[1]

We have had our grave doubts, as to the question, whether or not India can properly be said to be a conquered country by England? Certainly, some of its provinces, such as the Kingdom of Tippoo Sultan, of the Mahratta Peshwa, came into our possession by conquest. But, if we were to look into the minutiæ of those wars which led to the acquisition of the country, *native Princes were our allies, and shared in the partition of the conquered territories; petty chieftains assisted on our side, and the mass of the natives of this country fought in our ranks.* Some provinces we obtained by cession or exchange with native sovereigns, with whom we were at peace, and some with whom we have never been at war. Conquest, as a rule, is a

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[1] I would sacrifice every frontier of India ten times over in order to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith. What is it that has brought me through many difficulties both in war and peace? British good faith and nothing else.—*Duke of Wellington.*

title to sovereignty, which grows stronger if confirmed by treaties. But territories in India held and administered by the British Government, 'are silent results of breach of trust and broken treaties, without any visible process or public proclamation whereby a title might be acquired or even asserted,"[1] or as Mead expresses himself 'Scinde was acquired by means, not more nefarious, than those which have given us possession of half our Indian Empire.'[2]

On our table lie the printed, goodly volumes of treaties and engagements made between England and India, since the day England had a foot-hold in India. Those treaties are now but dead letters. It is generally supposed that England is the *only western nation* interested in the welfare of India. Certainly, this is an error. France once fought and fiercely contested her right. Portugal and Holland had their little day. Be it assured, that Prussia, as well as Russia, have an eye on this country. The will of Peter the Great has yet to be fulfilled. We need not point out, what would enshrine in the hearts of the teeming millions of India, Britain's name and cause. Abler minds have left behind them foot-prints, on the sands of time. To be wise and prudent, one has only to look back.

One century ago, India saw its first Governor-General. He was a man of no ordinary talent, though occidental, he was imbued with the taste and mannerism of the oriental. He had his faults, which

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1 Our Great Vassal Empire, page 70.—EVANS BELL.

2 The Sepoy Revolt, page 15.—MEAD.

called to life the eloquence of Edmund Burke. He had also his virtues. Thus he wrote to the Court of Directors,[1] 'You, sir, will believe me when I assure you, that it is on the *virtue, not the ability* of their servants, that the Company must rely for the permanency of their dominion. Nor is the cultivation of the *languages and science,* for such are the studies to which I allude, useful only in forming the moral character and habits of the service. Every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion, founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the State. It is the gain of humanity ; in the specific instance which I have stated, it attracts and conciliates distant affections. It lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection, and it imprints on the hearts of our own countrymen the sense and obligation of benevolence. Even in England this effect of it is greatly wanting. It is not very long since, the inhabitants of India were considered by many, as creatures scarce elevated above the degree of savage life; nor, I fear, is that prejudice yet wholly eradicated, though surely abated. Every instance which brings their real character home to observation will impress us with a more generous sense of feeling for their natural rights, and teach us to estimate them, by the

[1] Letter to Nathaniel Smith, Esq., from Warren Hastings, dated Benares, 4th October 1785, forwarding the translation by Charles Wilkins, Esq., of the Bhagavath Geetha to the Court of Directors for publication.

measure of our own. But such instances can only be obtained *in their writings, and these will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance.'*

And a name which will ever live in the annals of Sanscrit Literature, as the exponent of eastern mind to western research, wrote thus, eighty-four years ago. ' Whatever opinion, in short, may be formed of *Manu* and his laws, in a country happily enlightened by sound philosophy, and the only true revelation, it must be remembered that those laws are actually revered as the word of the most High, by natives of great importance to the political and commercial interests of *Europe,* and practically by many *millions of Hindu* subjects, whose well-directed industry would add largely to the wealth of *Britain, and who ask no more in return than protection for their persons and place of abode, justice in their temporal concerns, indulgences to the prejudices of their old religion and the benefit of those laws, which they have been taught to believe sacred, and which alone they can possibly comprehend."*[1]

'Things which are equal to the same are equal to one another,' says Euclid. What applies to the part, will apply to the whole. A political agent, the only political agent, who was well acquainted with the regal races of India, has written thus.* His

[1] Sir William Jones' preface to his translation of Manava Dharma Sastra or the Institutes of Manu, page 23, 3rd Ed.

* In 1829.

remarks apply to every native princedom.[1] 'We have the same mythology, the same theogony, the same festivals though commemorated with peculiar distinctions. There are niceties in thought as in dress, which if possible to communicate would excite but little interest, when the tie of a turban and the fold of a robe are, like masonic symbols, distinguishing badges of tribes. But it is in their domestic circle that manners are best seen; where restraint is thrown aside, and no authority controls the freedom of expression. *But does the European seek access to this sanctum of nationality, ere he gives his debtor and creditor account of character, his balanced catalogue of virtues and vices? He may, however, with the Rajput, whose independence of mind places him above restraint and whose hospitality and love of character will always afford free communication to those who respect his opinions and his prejudices, and who are devoid of that overweening opinion of self which imagines that nothing can be learnt from such friendly intercourse.* The personal dissimilarity accordingly arises from *locale;* the mental similarity results from a grand fixed principle, which, whatever its intrinsic moral defect, whatever its incompatability with the elevated notions we entertain, has preserved to these races, as nations, the enjoyment of their ancient habits to this distant period. *May our boasted superiority in all that exalts man above his fellows, ensure to our Eastern Empire like duration; and may these notions of our own peculiarly*

1 Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Volume I, pages 110—115.

favoured destiny operate to prevent us from laying prostrate, in our periodical ambitious visitations, these the most ancient relics of civilization on the face of the earth! For the dread of their amalgamation with our Empire will prevail, though such a result would be opposed not only to their happiness, but to our own stability. With our present system of alliances so pregnant with evil from their origin, this fatal consequence—far from desired by the legislative authorities at home—must inevitably ensue. If the wit of man had been taxed to devise a series of treaties with a view to an ultimate rupture, these will be entitled to applause as specimens of diplomacy. *There is a perpetual variation between the spirit and the letter of every treaty, and while the internal independence of each state is the grand work, it is frettered away and multiplied by successive stipulations, and these positive and negative qualities continue, mutually repelling each other until it is apparent that independence cannot exist under* such conditions. Where discipline is lax, as with these feudal associations, and where each subordinate vassal is master of his own retainers, the article of military contingents alone would prove a source of contention. By leading to interference with each individual chieftain, it would render such aid worse than useless. But this is a minor consideration to the tributary pecuniary stipulation, which unsettled and undetermined, leaves a door open to a system of espionage into their revenue accounts—a system not only disgusting but contrary to treaty which

leaves 'internal administration' sacred. These openings to dispute and the general lenity of their governments coming in contact with our regular system, present dangerous handles for ambition; and who so blind as not to know that ambition to be distinguished, must influence every vicegerent in the East? While deeds in arms and acquisition of territory outweigh the meek eclat of civil virtue, the periodical visitations to these kingdoms will ever be like the comets.'

"Foreboding Change to Princes."

'Our position in the East has been, and continues to be, one in which conquest forces herself upon us. We have yet the power, however late, to halt and not anticipate her further orders to march. A contest for a mud bank has carried our arms to the *Aurea chersonesus,* the limit of Ptolemy's geography. With the Indus on the left, the Brahmaputra to the right, the Himalayan barrier towering like a giant to guard the Tartarian ascent, the ocean and our ships at our back; such is our colossal attitude! But if misdirected ambition halts not at the Brahmaputra, but plunges in to gather laurels from the teak forest of Arracan, what surety have we for these Hindu States placed by treaty within the grasp of our control? But the hope is cherished that the same generosity which formed those ties that snatched the Rajpoots from degradation and impending destruction, will maintain the pledge given in the fever of success 'that their independence should be sacred,' that it will palliate faults we may not overlook, and per-

petuate this oasis of ancient rule in the desert of destructive revolution of races *whose virtues are their own and whose vices are the grafts of tyranny, conquest and religious intolerance.* To make them known is one step to obtain for them, at least, the boon of sympathy, for, with the ephemeral power of our Governors and the Agents of Government, is it to be expected that the rod will more softly fall *when ignorance of their history prevails, and no kind association springs from a knowledge of their martial achievements and yet proud bearing, their generosity, courtesy, and extended hospitality?* These are Rajpoot virtues yet extant, amidst all their revolutions, and which have survived ages of Mahomedan bigotry and power; though to the honor of the virtuous and magnanimous few among the crowned heads of eight centuries, both Tartar and Mogul, there were some great souls; men of high worth, who appeared at intervals to redeem the oppression of a whole preceding dynasty. The high ground we *assumed, and the lofty sentiments with which we introduced ourselves amongst the Rajpoots, arrogating motives of purity, of disinterested benevolence, scarcely belonging to humanity, and to which their sacred writings alone yielded a parallel, gave such exalted notions of our right of exerting the attributes of divinity, justice, and mercy, that they expected little less than Almighty wisdom in our acts:* but circumstances *have throughout occurred in each individual state, to show we were mere mortals, and that the poet's moral*

" 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,".

was true in politics. Sorrow and distrust were the consequence—anger succeeded. but the sense of obligation is still too powerful to operate a stronger and less generous sentiment. These errors may yet be redeemed, and our Rajpoot allies yet be retained as useful friends, though they can only be so, while in the enjoyment of perfect internal independence and their ancient institutions. 'No political institution can endure,' observes the eloquent historian of the Middle Ages,* 'which does not meet itself to the heart of men by ancient prejudices or acknowledged merit. The feudal compact had much of this character. In fulfilling the obligations of mutual assistance and fidelity by military service, the energies of friendship were awakened, and the ties of moral sympathy superseded to those of positive compact.' We shall throw out one of the assumed causes which give stability to political institutions; '*acknowledged merit*,' which never belonged to the loose feudal compact of Rajwarra; but the absence of this strengthens the necessary substitute; 'ancient prejudices,' which supply many defects. *Our anomalous and inconsistent interference in some cases, and our non-interference in others*, operate alike to augment the dislocation induced by *long predatory oppression in the various orders of society, instead of restoring that harmony and continuity* which had *previously existed*. The great danger, nay, the inevitable consequence of perseverance in this line of conduct, will be their reduction to the same degradation with our other

*Hallam.

allies, and their ultimate incorporation with our already too extended dominion. It may be contended, that the scope and tenor of these alliances were not altogether unfitted, for the period when they were formed, and our circumscribed knowledge; but was it too late, when this knowledge was extended, to purify them from the dross which deteriorated the two grand principles of mutual benefit, on which all were *grounded, viz., 'perfect internal independence to them, and acknowledged supremacy to the protecting power.'* It will be said, that even these corner-stones of this grand political fabric, are far from possessing those durable qualities which the contracting parties define, but that, on the contrary, they are the Ormuzd and Ahrimanes, the good and evil principles of contention. But when we have superadded pecuniary engagements of indefinite extent, increasing in the ratio of their prosperity and armed quotas or contingents of their troops, whose loose habits and discipline would ensure constant complaint, we may certainly take credit for having established a system which must compel that direct interference, which the broad principle of each treaty professes to check. The inevitable consequence is the perpetuation of that denationalizing principle so well understood by the Mahrattas, '*devide et impera.*' We are few; to use an oriental metaphor, our agents must 'use the eyes and ears of others.' That mutual dependence which would again have arisen, our interference will completely nullify. Princes will find they can oppress their chiefs, chiefs will find channels by

which their sovereign's commands may be rendered nugatory, and irresponsible ministers must have our support to raise these undefined tributary supplies; and unanimity, confidence, and all the sentiments of gratitude which they owe and acknowledge to be our due, will gradually fade with the national degradation. That our alliances have this tendency cannot be disputed. *By their very nature, they transfer the respect of every class of subjects, from their immediate sovereign to the paramount authority and its subordinate agents.* Who will dare to urge that a Government, which cannot support its internal rule without restriction, can be national? that without power unshackled and unrestrained by exterior council or espionage, it can maintain self-respect, the corner-stone of every virtue with states as with individuals? This first of feelings, these treaties utterly annihilate. Can we suppose such denationalized allies are to be depended upon in emergencies? or if allowed to retain a spark of their ancient moral inheritance, that it will not be kindled into a flame against us when opportunity offers, instead of lighting up the powerful feeling of gratitude, which yet exists towards us in these warlike communities? Like us they were the natural foes of that predatory system which so long disturbed our power, and our preservation and theirs were alike consulted in its destruction. *When we sought their alliance we spoke in the captivating accents of philanthropy; we courted them to disunite from this Ahrimanes of political convulsion.*'

'The benevolent motives of the great mover of these alliances we dare not call in question, and his policy coincided with the soundest wisdom. *But the treaties might have been revised and the obnoxious parts which led to discord, abrogated, at the expense of a few paltry lacs of tribute and a portion of sovereign homage.* It is not yet too late. True policy would enfranchise them altogether from our alliance; but till then let them not feel their shackles in the galling restraint on each internal operation. *Remove that millstone to national prosperity, the pregnant feeling that every increased bushel of corn raised in their long-deserted fields must send its tithe to the British granaries.* Let the national mind recover its wonted elasticity, and they will again attain their former celebrity. We have the power to advance this greatness and make it, and its result our own, or by a system unworthy of Britain, to retard and even quench it altogether.[1] Never were their national characteristics so much endangered as in the seducing calm which followed the tempestuous agitations in which they had so long floated, doubtful, to use their own figurative expression, whether

1 If Lord Hastings' philanthropy which rejoiced in snatching these ancient states from the degradation of predatory warfare, expected that in four short years order should rise out of the chaos of a century, and was prepared to "visit with displeasure all symptoms of internal neglect arising from supineness, indifference, or concealed ill-will;" if *he* signified "that Government would take upon itself the task of restoring order," and that "all charges" on this score "would be demanded and rigidly executed;" in fine, that "such arrangements would be made as would deprive them of the power of longer abusing the spirit of liberal forbearance, the motives of which they were incapable of understanding or appreciating;" what have they to hope from those without his sympathies?

'*the gift of our friendship or our arms, were fought with greater evil.*' The latter they could not withstand; though it must never be lost sight of, that, like ancient Rome, when her glory was fading, we use 'the arms of the barbarians,' to defend our conquest against them! Is the mind ever stationary? Are virtue and high notions to be acquired from contact and example? Is there no mind above the level of £10 monthly pay in all the native legions of the three presidencies of India? No Odoacer, no Sevaji again to revive? Is the book of knowledge and of truth which we hold up, only to teach them submission, and perpetuate their weakness? Can we without fresh claims expect eternal gratitude, and must we not naturally look for reaction in some grand impulse, which, by furnishing a signal instance of the mutability of power, may afford a lesson for the benefit of posterity?* Is the mantle of protection which we have thrown over these warlike races likely to avert such a result? It might certainly, if imbued with all those philanthropic feelings for which we took credit, act with soporific influence and extinguish the embers of international animosity. '*The lion and the lamb were to drink from the same fountain.*' *They were led to expect the holy Satyayug when each man reposed under his own fig-tree, which neither strife nor envy dared approach.* When so many nations are called upon in a period of great calamity and danger, to make over to a foreigner their opposite in every

* How prophetic of the Mutiny of 1857.

thing, their superior in most, the control of their forces in time of war, the adjudication of their disputes in time of peace, and a share in the fruits of their renovating prosperity, what must be the result; when each Rajput may hang up his lance in the hall, convert his sword to a ploughshare, and make a basket of his buckler? *What but the prostration of every virtue?* It commences with the basis of the Rajputs—the martial virtues; extinguish these, and they will soon cease to respect themselves; sloth, low cunning and meanness will follow. *What nation ever maintained its character that devolved on the stranger, the power of protection! To be great, to be independent,* its martial spirit must be cherished; happy if within the bounds of moderation. Led away by enthusiasm, the author experienced the danger of interference when observing but one side of the picture—the brilliant lights which shone on their long days of darkness, not calculating the shade which would follow the sudden glare. *On our cessation from every species of interference alone depends their independence or their amalgamation,—a crisis fraught with danger to our overgrown rule.*'*

'Let Alexander's speech to his veterans, tired of conquest, and refusing to cross the Hyphasis be applied, and let us not reckon too strongly on our empire of opinion: "Fame never represents matters truly as they are, but on the contrary magnifies every thing. This is evident, for our own reputation and glory, though founded on solid truths is yet more

* Again prophetic of the Mutiny of 1857.

obliged to rumour than reality."[1] We may conclude with the Macedonian conqueror's reasons for showing the Persians and his other foreign allies so much favour; "*The possession of what we got by the sword is not very durable, but the obligation of good offices is eternal. If we have a mind to keep Asia and not simply pass through it, our clemency must extend to them also, and their fidelity will make our empire everlasting. As for ourselves we have more than we know what to do with, and it must be an insatiable avaricious temper which desires to continue to fill what already runs over.*"[2]

One of the greatest and most enlightened rulers of India has left this testimony behind him.[3] 'I am decidedly of opinion that the tranquillity, not to say the security, of our vast oriental possessions is involved in the preservation of the native principalities which are dependent upon us for protection. These men also are so obviously at our mercy, so entirely within our grasp, that besides the other and great benefits which we derive from these alliances, their co-existence with our rule is of itself a source of political strength, *the value of which will never be known till it is lost.** These show the possibility of a native state subsisting even in the hearts of our own territories, and their condition mitigates in some degree the bad effects of that too general impression,—*that our sovereignty is incompatible with the maintenance of Native Princes and Chiefs.*'

1 Quintus Curtius, Lib. IX. 2 Quintus Curtius. Lib. VIII. 3 Sir John Malcolm.

* Compare this with the policy that has led to the spoliation and absorption of Satara, Nagpore, Tanjore and the Carnatic.

And an authority of authorities expressed himself thus in Sir John Kaye's interesting memoir. '"He was much grieved," says the Historian of the War in Afghanistan,[1] "by the manifestation of that all-devouring earth-hunger—which led Indian statesmen of high honor and integrity to disregard the obligations of the British Government to the Native Princes of India. The long line of "Annexations," beginning with the old Mahratta Principality of Sattara, which distinguished the administration of Lord Dalhousie, was viewed by him with sentiments of regret not unmingled with alarm. I do not remember, writes Sir Edward Colebrooke, ever to have seen Mr. Elphinstone, so shocked as he was at this proceeding. The treatment of the Sattara Sovereignty as a Jagheer over which we had claims of feudal sovereignty, he regarded as a monstrous one; but any opinion of the injustice done to this family was subordinate to the alarm which he felt at the dangerous principles which were advanced affecting every sovereign state of India, and which were put forward both in India and at home."'

Another, who has written much for the good of India, and the stability of England in India, expresses himself thus, in connection with the maintenance of Native Principalities.[2] 'What they wanted then, what they want now, what we shall always want in India, is a vital communication with the conservative interests and the free intelligence

1 Montstuart Elphinstone.

2 Our Great Vassal Empire—Evans Bell, page 70.

of the country; and this we can only secure through the Native Princes. We want the *Native Princes much more than they want us. We want them for the discipline and the education of two hundred millions of Asiatics.* We can instruct and manage the two hundred Princes, their families and followers. *We cannot serve the millions without the aid and good will of their natural leaders.* No British Collector, no Commissioner, no Lieutenant-Governor, no Councillor, honorable, however experienced, however highly educated,—though strained and sifted by a dozen successive competitions, —can ever maintain order, or propagate reform as can be done by a native Prince, however ignorant, whom we have rendered amenable to our purpose. *And there is no necessity that native Princes should be ignorant; if most of them are so, it is only another proof of our negligence.*'

From, 'sleepy hollow' writes a civilian. 'Five native states have fallen within the last ten years. If we put on one side of the account what the natives have gained by the few offices that have been lately opened to them with what they have lost by the extermination of these states, we shall find the net loss to be immense, and what the native loses the Englishman gains. Upon the extermination of a native state an Englishman takes the place of the sovereign, under the name of the Commissioner; three or four of his associates displace as many dozen of the native official aristocracy, while some hundreds of our troops take the place of the thou-

sands that every native chief supports. The little court disappears, trade languishes, the capital decays, the people are impoverished, the Englishman flourishes, and acts like a sponge, drawing up riches from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down upon the banks of the Thames. The Englishman of course is satisfied; but is it surprising that the native whom he has displaced should cherish a feeling of undying resentment?'[1]

All that we, humble unpretentious as we are, do ask is Justice, Justice for India, for Southern India, for Tanjore—Justice 'that one virtue, the mistress and queen of all virtues' as the Roman Orator[2] says, and as the Christian moralist writes, 'There[3] is no virtue so truly great and god-like as Justice; most of the other virtues are the virtues of created beings or accommodated to our nature as we are men. Justice is that which is practised by God himself, and to be practised in its perfection by none but Him. Omniscience and Omnipotence are requisite for the full exertion of it, the one to discover every degree of uprightness, or iniquity in thoughts, words and actions; the other to measure out and impart suitable rewards and punishments. As to be perfectly just is an attribute in the divine nature, to be so to the utmost of our abilities is the glory of a man.' Such a one who has the public administration in his hands acts like the representative of his

1 Mr. John Sullivan in 1853 as quoted by Mr. Chesson on the Princes of India.

2 Cicero—do—Officibus,

3 Guardian, 99 No,

maker in recompensing the virtuous and punishing the offender. By the extirpating of a criminal he adverts the Judgment of Heaven when ready to fall upon an impious people; as my friend Cato expresses it much better in a sentiment conformable to his character:—

> "When by just vengeance impious mortals perish,
> The Gods behold their punishment with pleasure,
> And lay the uplifted thunderbolt aside,"—

'When a nation loses its regard to justice, when they do not look upon it as something venerable, holy, and unviolable, when any of them dare presume to lessen, affront or vilify those who have the distribution of it in their hands, when a judge is capable of being influenced by any thing but law or a cause may be recommended by any thing that is foreign to its own merits, we may venture to pronounce that such a nation is hastening to its ruin.'

Over the subsiding waters of the late dark rebellion, burst forth the words of peace, mercy and justice, from the throne of England,—with the sweetness of a silver trumpet—like the luminous orb of day;—with healing in its wings. 'It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India to promote works of *utility and improvement*, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant unto us and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.'

To use Indian phraseology, the *Raj* of the Honorable East India Company, was the evening of India—with occasional meteoric glimpses of good, we hope, sincerely we hope, its assumption by the Queen of England will prove its morning.

Unto the Magna Charta granted by King John to the Barons of England, may be likened the proclamation of the Queen, to the Princes of India. It is India's Magna Charta.[1] We have read and re-read this paper. The more one ponders over it the more is he impressed with the earnestness and concern felt by England for the probable loss of her Indian possessions. The mutiny, like the letters written by the unknown hand upon the walls of the palaces of Belshazar of Chaldea and Babylon;—had proclaimed; 'Mene Mene Tekel Upahrsin.'

There is a sublimity, an energy, an earnestness, a solicitude, a fervour, a religious penitence in the expressions of this proclamation. It is the feeling, sorrow, and grief of the prodigal son, who by his *own waste and imprudence, had lavished away all that he had attained, by 'riotous living.'*

The thoughtful reader, when studying the history of England, in India, from its earliest period of druidical barbarism, to the time of its consolidated strength, is struck with the strides of greatness she has attained during the reign of Queen Victoria. Truly it can be said that there is a charm, a virtue in the name—'Victoria.' All powerful over the seas, with a continent equal to, and richer than,

1 Queen's Proclamation, dated 1st Nov. 1858.

Russia, lying prostrate at her feet, 'Brittania rules the waves.' Not only has England's Queen been blessed in territory and by conquest, but she has also been blessed at her hearth and home. What with a progeny of children and grand-children; like her countries oaks around her, she might say with the Divine Psalmist, 'Blessed is he who hath his quiver full of them, for they shall *stand at the gate of their adversaries.*' Prussia, Germany, England's greatest Baron, the Warwick of the present day, and Russia are linked in ties of matrimonial alliance. We hope to see France, of the number, and also India. Some fastidious minds would suppose the last hope presumptuous. But why?

He who sits to read the history of this Indian Continent, with the solemn purpose of seeking the footprints of God in every national transaction, feels convinced that God has been *in India,* as much as he has been *in the land of Egypt and the land of* Palestine. Have there not been kings, and kings of kings, in India, ruling their sceptre with justice and mercy, protecting their people, and their country? Has there not been nobility in Hindustan? Who that has read the Annals of Mewar is not impressed with the conviction, that in the Princes of Rajpootana, there has been, and is, as much nobility, antecedental ancestral aristocracy, yea, regality; as there has been and is in Great Britain. A nation's greatness must be judged of by the whole, not by an individual case. The Judean King, when that nation was resplendent, when King Solomon sat on

its throne, espoused the daughter of Pagan Egypt. The Roman Empire was in the acme of its greatness, when Aurelian wore the purple, he espoused the daughter of Zenobia, the captive Queen of Palmyra. When the Empire of the Moguls was consolidated, and the great Akbar was recognized the Emperor of India, he took unto himself as wives the daughters of the Princes of Infidel Rajpootana; and it is our hope, that India and England may one day be united in the blood of their royalty,—Is this preposterous? Had the subjects of Cœur-de-leon been Rajpoots, and not Saxons, the English monarch would not so long have been consigned to the dungeons of Austria. The sabres of Rajpootana would not have rested for a moment in their scabbards.

Man depends upon his own sagacity, and attributes every success to his own wisdom, forgetting that there is an unseen Hand that 'ordains all things.' His Grace the Duke of Argyll, the late Secretary of State for India, has written a work.[1] Of its erudition, there cannot be the slightest doubt, but with humility we submit that there is a 'law' above the 'law of nature,' to which the law of nature is subservient. What is power? But will. And the Will of wills is the word of God. The Divine Teacher when clothed in the flesh of man, has taught us this simple prayer: 'Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven.' There is a council, a Triune council in Heaven, that ordains all things on earth;—and the same gentle voice in sweetness of utterance, inex-

[1] The Reign of Law.

pressible, feeling the subordination of human assumption, tells us,—'that a sparrow falleth not to the ground without the will of my Heavenly Father.' The voice of prophecy in visions of majestic grandeur as seen by one of the seers of God, proclaims as follows. The prophet says.[1] 'Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures with his four faces. The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of a beryl, and they four had one likeness; and their appearance and their work was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel. When they went, they went upon their four sides; and they turned not when they went. As for their rings, they were so high that they were dreadful; and their rings were full of eyes round about them four. And when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them; and when the living creatures were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up. Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went, thither was their spirit to go; and the wheels were lifted up over against them; for the spirit of the living creatures was in the wheels. When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood; and when those were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up over against them; for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels.'

This was a vision granted to the Prophet of God in the land of Chaldea, when that mighty kingdom, Assyria, was in the height of her glory. No one

[1] Ezekiel, i. 15—21.

would have *then* dreamt for a moment, that such a kingdom would have passed away. But, what does the vision signify? That there is a Will, the Will of God, above the reign of natural law, a Will, which is the providence of God, general as well as special, symbolized by the wheels within wheels. *The wheels stood on the earth,* hence the vision relates to human affairs. Wheels are emblematic of the various changes which are continually taking place on the earth, in respect to earthly interests. The vicissitudes of life in relation to individuals, and the revolutions in common wealths and kingdoms, proceed not from blind necessity. There is a Divine spirit in the rolling wheels which *orders every event, and sanctifies every dispensation.* These wheels are said to be so high and of so vast a circumference, that they are dreadful to behold. The wheels were seen on the earth, but part of their rings or circumference was lost in the heavens, and in order that the connection of heavenly with earthly things might appear, when the living creatures, God's ministers, are lifted up, the wheels also are lifted up. Moreover the wheels had one likeness—the colour of the azure heavens. They were of the same dimensions, make and motion. To impress us that the Divine Government is pure, consistent, benevolent, and that justice, wisdom, and goodness are exercised, without the least imperfection or obliquity. But sometimes we are puzzled at events which we cannot reconcile with our notions of Divine integrity and benevolence. Look at the vision again, and

observe that their appearance, and their work, was as it were '*a wheel in the middle of a wheel,*' indicating cause and effect; the latter seen and felt, the former hidden and secret. The 'wheel within a wheel' would often produce the appearance of perplexed and retrograde motion; such are our conceptions with respect to some of the dispensations of providence, but God is never perplexed, and he will never need to retrace his steps, for he knows 'the end from the beginning.' Again, three times we are told, that the wheels went straightforward, '*whither the spirit was to go, they went and they turned not when they went.*' Thus are we instructed by the seemingly intricate and involved movements of the wheels, to wait for God's own time, for the interpretation of events and changes, which we cannot at the present time understand.

A writer somewhere says, referring to the subject of the conquest of India by Europe, '*Invincible in fight, fierce, cruel and remorseless, insolent and overbearing in their demeanour, tyrannical and exacting beyond all Hindu or Mahomedan precedent, with hearts set on gold and hands stained with blood; such was the aspect in which the European followers of Jesus first showed themselves to the natives of Hindustan.*' To whom will this apply? Denmark shall ever have, and possess the blessing of the Patriarch to his son 'I have blessed him and he shall be blessed.' May the crowns of England and Denmark ever be continued, and may their children's children rule the destinies of India, and

why? There are two professions, both sacred and honorable, the Preacher and the Physician; he who saves the soul and he who preserves the body. To these two great causes England, mysteriously moving, is indebted for her greatness in India.

We are of opinion that the above quoted passage of opprobrium can only apply, probably, to Portugal and Holland. Of their atrocities in India enough has been left on record. Of the inquisition encouraged by John III of Portugal, and of the diabolical scenes incident to that horrid tribunal, one has only to refer to Dr. Buchanan's 'Christian Researches,' and Hough's 'Christianity in India,' of the Dutch and of their intolerant practices, their annihilation is the strongest monument.

In the north of the District of Tanjore, there lies a sea-board piece of ground, called 'Tranquebar.' There the standard of Christianity in its reformed purity, first was raised. Denmark has won a halo of glory in this action, and in the kingdom of heaven she shall shine as a bright star when God comes to 'gather up his ministerial jewels' in India. Do the British, for a moment, consider, *that the Rajahs of Tanjore* were the first Princes in the South, who stretched out the right hand of fellowship to these servants of God, for we have it on record, that so far back as A. D. 1616 the Danes procured by purchase a small territory from the Rajah of Tanjore and built the town of Tranquebar. This was England's first foothold in the south. We have already alluded*

* Ante page 89 and 90.

to the efforts of Frederick IV., King of Denmark, his becoming zeal and resolution to evangelize his Hindu subjects, and have referred to Ziegenbalg, Pluscho and Swartz. Happy that day for Denmark, for she was registered in the Book of God. Happy that day for England, when her King George I. was led to take the deepest interest in this Danish Mission. The House of Denmark and the House of Brunswick shall ever live! But England! what has been done in restitution for the present Princess of Tanjore?

There was feasting 'and a sound of revelry' by night, in the halls of the Great Mogul. The chivalry and the beauty of Asia and Hindustan were there collected. 'Bright lamps shone' and brighter gems glittered on the turbans and sabres of Mogul and Rajpoot Princes! 'rivalling the planets and upbraiding the faint lustre of the stars.' It was an assembly, convened to celebrate a royal nuptial,—the union of the Mogul with the Rajpootane. But, all of a sudden, a gloom was cast over the scene; for the angel of sickness, fraught with impending death, had spread his wings over the palace of the Emperor of Delhi.* At this crisis England appears before the ruler of India, with an embassy. Among the retinue was one, who was a physician† by profession, his presence becomes known to the palace, his services are sought for, he becomes the pioneer of England's rise in the East, and cures the great king. The cloud

* Ferochser.

† Mr. Hamilton.

has passed away—the sun-shine has reappeared—the marriage is in consequence completed. *

In the Oriental style the physician is asked what is to be his reward,—instead of soliciting anything for himself, he requests a grant of land for a factory on the Hoogly for his employers. It is accorded ; *and this was the origin of the greatness of the British Empire, and this was England's first foothold in the East.*

'This gorgeous court,'[1] writes Tod, 'ought to have been, and probably was, impressed with a high opinion of the *virtuous self-denial of the inhabitants of Britain;* and if history has correctly preserved the transaction, some mark of public gratitude should have been forthcoming from those who *signally benefitted thereby.* But to borrow the phraseology of the Italian historian, (obligations which do not admit of being fully discharged, are often repaid with the coin of ingratitude)—*the remains of this man rest in the churchyard of Calcutta, without even a stone to mark the spot!*'*

A. D. 1616 was a turning point. A. D. 1718 was another turning point to the English. The foundation had been laid, and the superstructure had been

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* "The ceremony is described, as it was celebrated, with true Asiatic pomp. The Ameer-ool-Omra conducted the festivities on the part of the bride, and the marriage was performed with a splendour and magnificence till then unseen among the princes of Hindustan. Many pompous insignia were added to the royal cortege upon this occasion. The illuminations rivalled the planets, and seemed to upbraid the faint lustre of the stars. The nuptials were performed at the palace of the Ameer-ool-Omra, whence the emperor conveyed his bride with the highest splendour of imperial pomp to the citadel amidst the resoundings of musical instruments and the acclamations of the people."—*Scott's History of Aurungzeb's successors*, page 132, Vol. I.

[1] Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 342.—Tod.

raised, for the rapid progress of a new empire, in India. A.D. 1813 shows us a new phase :—A dominant power encouraging its religion. This is not antagonistic to the views of the Hindu or the Mahomedan, as is generally supposed. For Shastra and Kuran encourage it. But there was a hue and cry ;—the name of the immortal Wilberforce shines forth. And though from the banks of the Ganges to the Thames it had been loudly acclaimed against, that the arrival of a Bishop would be the signal of disaffection in India, what was the issue? In A. D. 1814 the first Bishop of India under the Reformed Church, landed in the Metropolis of British India, and was welcomed by all ranks and classes of Indian subjects. Strange, mysteriously strange! Tanjore appears on the scene again; for says a writer of no small Missionary experience. 'The Rajah of Tanjore* sent his Minister to the Christian Bishop inviting him to the palace, where descending from his throne, he embraced him with affection, and expressed the gratification with which he saw the chief of our religious establishment in his country, and in his court. There was no alarm; no symptom of irritation. Native princes, priests and gentry, as well as all classes and castes, received the Bishop in all places with every mark of reverence, *far greater than any of his brethren could find in their own native land.* No one acquainted with the Hindus could have expected any other result from the tour

* The reference is to His Highness Surfojee of Tanjore, on the visit of Bishop Middleton to Tanjore, ante p. 117.

of a dignitary of the Church through the province of India. I have no hesitation in saying that the Hindu is far likelier to be conciliated in our favour by our consistency in the zealous maintenance of our holy faith, than by our neglect of its most obvious sanctions, provided he is left in the full possession of the rights of private judgment.'[1]

The year A.D. 1872 was an auspicious one to India. Since the foundation of the British Empire in this Peninsula never was it known that England's royalty had trod on the soil of this country. We were not present when in the Presidency of Madras His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh received in Durbar the nobility of this part of his vast dominions. Among the Princes there convened, we did not strain our eyes to see if Tanjore was among the number; *she was not to be found;* but Ramnad, Shevagunga and Poodoocottah were there, *once the serfs of the Rajahs of Tanjore.* Invitations had been issued by this Government to Princes, Poligars, Petty Chieftains and land-holders, elevated by the weight of their purses to Zemindars and Rajahs; but why was Tanjore never so much as thought of? Nevertheless the Madras Government appoint a Collector to that District, and honor him with the extra title of Political and Government Agent.

Mr. William Molle Cadell of the Madras Civil Service, on the eve of his retirement when shuffling off his

1 Land of the Veda, Rev. P. PERCIVAL.

official coil, indeed felt, that as Political and Government Agent of Tanjore, he had eaten the bread of idleness, convinced of which fact, he converted his post to that of a Jailor. His celebrity is a household word in Tanjore, so much so that a popular Tahsildar of his, built a chuttram and cognomened it *Rajah Cadellpuram.* A Civilian might be called a Rajah, but one who is entitled to be thus honored is perfectly disallowed the respect. We quote from a Madras Periodical, the *Athenæum and Daily News* dated March 31, 1873, the following :—'We wish to make a few general remarks which the new Political Agent of Tanjore may well take to heart. Mr. Cadell is no more the autocrat of Vellum which is well known to be the *Windsor* to the *London* of Tanjore. We regard Mr. Cadell's departure from the scene of his great labours as by no means, for one important reason at least, to be regretted. If Mr. Cadell proved himself to be an able and painstaking Collector, certainly, he proved himself to be a short-sighted Political Agent. Mr. Cadell was ever known to be a petty "Rajah" in his little way, and seemed to know about as much of the history of the very remarkable district under him as the great Tanjore Bull itself! Never for a moment did the idea seem to enter his mind that the Princess of Tanjore was in reality a *Princess* of an old and noble line, and of a once potent family that had been the main stay of the British power in South India in times past. No. Mr. Cadell always seemed

to have before his eyes only the fact that he was in his relationship with the Tanjore Palace, the representative of a ruling power. He constantly showed that he felt that he was treating with *inferiors.* This was very galling to those with whom he had to deal, who knew that once they had been of better account in India. There was no real confidence on this account between him and the royal descendants of the illustrious Sevajee, the patron of Swartz, and the friend of Heber. We are, we repeat, unfeignedly glad to hear that Mr. Cadell is no more the self-made Rajah of Tanjore. And to his successor, who bears a name nowhere honoured more than in this Presidency, we beg to offer advice which no thoughtful man will despise. Every one who desires to see reciprocal just dealing between England and India, must also desire to see those in power, treat those whom they have authority over, with affability, condescension, and brotherly kindness, especially in cases like that which applies to our rule over Tanjore. Tanjore is no conquered city. It is the city of an ally and a benefactor, whose descendants have fallen from their high estate. In all our dealings with such Hindus of the lineal descendants of once great native potentate, we should be especially careful and conciliating. The Honorable Mr. Arbuthnott, now the Political Agent to the Palace of Tanjore, will, we earnestly trust, form a closer link of intimacy, and trust, engendering friendship, with the Princess of

Tanjore, her husband, and the noble Mahratta family of which they are the head, than Mr. Cadell was ever able or ever cared to form. The strong lose nothing when they are courteous to the weak. Further than merely being courteous, we advise the Honorable Mr. Arbuthnott to form a close acquaintance and friendship with the family over whose interests he has been called upon to preside.'

'We are glad to hear from Tanjore that the new Collector has produced, in a general way, a good first impression on the people. The people will respect him all the more if he establishes what Mr. Cadell failed to establish, a thoroughly good feeling between himself and the Tanjore Royal family; for notwithstanding all our ascendancy and might, the people still maintain their respect for the unfortunate survivors of the old Mahratta dynasty. We flatter ourselves that we know Tanjore well. And it is our firm conviction that, although every Collector or Political Agent, who may be stationed there, may be respected as the representative of the star ascendant for the time in the political horizon, and as the local exponent of a just and temperate *regime*, yet all the better and more intelligent classes of Hindus in the district have a sincere and deep-rooted esteem for *The Star* that, once so bright, has been latterly so bedimmed and obscured, and cannot forget that old regime which was so splendid, so peaceful, and so prosperous.'

A Bombay periodical, the *Indian Statesman*, referring to the same subject, writes :—

'The importance of special qualifications in the officers who are called to perform political duties in India, is too evident to need argument. The appointment of the late Political Agent to the Members of the Tanjore family was an ill-advised one and productive of serious mischief. Mr. Cadell's reign in Tanjore is at an end, and he has been replaced by the Hon'ble Mr. Arbuthnott, who, we may hope, will show more political tact in his intercourse with the Palace than his predecessor. It is but a shadow of royalty that now haunts the Palace of Tanjore, but the representatives of this old Mahratta family cling to the little that has been left them of their former grandeur, and as representatives of the ancient rulers of the country are held in profound respect by masses of the people throughout our South Indian possessions. The occupants of the old Palace are peculiarly situated, and the office of Political Agent, held by the Collector of the district, if judiciously exercised, is by no means, we believe, a sinecure, but demands a tact and delicacy in which Mr. Cadell was wanting. He made no attempt, we believe, to conceal that he regarded the family as far inferior to himself as sovereign of the Collectorate. And, as a matter of course, his political duties in any just conception of them, were performed in the most slovenly fashion. He knew nothing of the intrigues going on within the walls

of the palace in which even his own name was being used. The two branches of the family, occupying distincts portion of the palace, are not 'on terms.' The 'Ranee,' as she is designated, is the representative of the extinct Raj, and occupies the one-half of the palace; and His Highness Succaram Sahib, the son-in-law of the late Rajah, occupies the other half of his domain. On neither side is the hope quite extinguished, we believe, of obtaining from the British Government recognition of their respective claims to succeed to the lapse sunnud. Intrigues to this end are perpetually being hatched, and discomfiture seems to have no effect in discouraging them. We have had too many of these ill-judged appointments. Mr. Cadell was an energetic and experienced district officer, but as a Political Agent, was, we are assured, a total failure, and his removal was hailed with general satisfaction. It is to be hoped that his successor possesses the qualifications indispensable in a position of so much delicacy.'

The policy of the Government should be 'conciliation.'* We ask, was Mr. Cadell justified in putting a ban on Rajah Succaram Sahib? His order of restriction was perfectly uncalled for, and we respectfully submit, *impolitic.* The sooner it is done away

* Lord Canning's declaration with respect to the Native States was: "We must treat their chiefs and influential families with consideration and generosity." Montstuart Elphinstone,—'It appears to me, to be our interest as well as our duty, to use every means to preserve the allied Governments. The period of our downfall in India will probably be hastened by every increase of our territory and subjects;'—and Sir Henry Russell—'I consider the extinction of a Native State as a nail driven into our own coffin.'

with, the better—a ban preventing European visitors from entering the Palace without the express order and permission of the Political Agent—a ban, placing a *posse* of Police Constables within the precincts of the Palace to act as spies and sentinels—a ban which, we are at a loss to discover, on whom more odium it reflects, the European or the Asiatic.

We do not, at present, intend agitating the question at large, whether the sequestration of the Raj of Tanjore was legal or if its restitution would be politic: this is a large subject and will cover the pages of a separate work. Our time is at present limited, but as there are some who labour under the impression that a lapse of time bars the moving of such a question to success, we submit that such a supposition is wrong in law and equity, and we hold with Evans Bell 'that the recovery of political rights withheld by an act of State is barred by no statutes of limitation, that burden cannot be removed; public confidence cannot be established; the Queen's name cannot become the tower of strength, that it ought to be in India without a large measure of *restitution*.'[1]

But to waive this subject and to enter into minor ones which the Government of India might adjust and dispose of by reference to the Secretary of State. The system of Political Agency in principle is good, but the functionaries engaged in the executive are,

1 The Empire in India, pages 278, 279. BELL.

as a rule, defective and bad. We want men of experience, acquainted with the Hindoo mind, religion, morals and manners; men who have made India a study; men who would move with a degree of intimacy and familiarity with those over whom they are placed; men who do not consider themselves autocrats; men who would look into the wants of those who have fallen from their 'high places,' and whose wants, when neglected, must grow into grievances in their own eyes.

Tanjore has seen many a Political Agent since the demise of its last sovereign. Yet the burden of its griefs, from the shape of a formless cloud, has grown into the gigantic proportions of a thunderstorm. That the Dowager Queen of Tanjore—the Princess of Tanjore, the Princess' Consort, Rajah Succaram Rao Sahib, are of noble, ancestral antecedents, is indubitably admitted. The biography of His Excellency will form the subject of a distinct treatise, which is now on the tapis. We hope to prove that he is descended from the Chohans of Delhi, who had played so conspicuous a part in the Annals of Mewar.

To return to our subject. Have the above-mentioned personages met with any 'liberality and consideration' at the hands of a paternal Government? They have been despoiled—they have been bruised, they have been crushed without a reason, simply because, 'might has been right.' What has been the restitution What has been the ointment of

healing? What has been the balm of resuscitation? Nothing. We hope a paternal Government, that is now awakening to the interests of India and its Crowned Heads, will not be far behind from withholding those acts of 'liberality and consideration' which they pledged themselves on their honor, to the Princes of India, through the Proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen of England and the Empress of India.

"What is writ is writ, would it were worthier."

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

A.

Christian Researches in India, by *Rev. Claudies Buchanan*, D. D. Pp. 67 to 69, and 76 and 77.

George, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to the Reverend and Learned Bartholomew, Ziegenbalguis and John Ernest Grundbrus, Missionaries at Tranquebar in the East Indies.
Reverend and Beloved,

Your letters dated 20th of January of the present year were most welcome to us, not only because the work undertaken by you of converting the Heathen to the Christian faith doeth by the grace of God, prosper, but also because that, in this our kingdom, such a laudable zeal for the promotion of the Gospel prevails. We pray you may be endowed with health and strength of body, that you may long continue to fulfil your ministry with good success, of which we shall be rejoiced to hear. So you will always find us ready to succour you in whatever may tend to promote your work, and to excite your zeal. We assure you of the continuance of our Royal favour.

Given at our Palace of Hampton Court, the 23rd of August 1717 in the 4th year of our Reign.

GEORGE R.

The king continued to cherish with much solicitude the interest of the Mission after the death of Ziegenbalguis, and in ten years from the date of the foregoing letter a second was addressed to the members of the Mission by His Majesty.
Reverend and Beloved,

From your letters dated Tranquebar, the 12th of September 1725, which some time since came to hand, we received much pleasure, since by them we are informed, not only of your zealous exertions in the prosecution of the work committed to you, but also of the happy success which hath hitherto attended it, and which hath been graciously given of God.

We return you thanks for those accounts, and it will be acceptable to us, if you continue to communicate whatever shall occur in the progress of your mission. In the meantime, we pray you may enjoy strength of body and mind for the long continuance of your labours in this good work, to the glory of God and the promotion of Christianity among the heathens, that its perpetuity may not fail in generations to come.

Given at our Palace at St. James's, the 23rd of February 1727 in the 30th year of our reign.

GEORGE R.

B.

GAZETTEER OF SOUTHERN INDIA, pp. 357 to 360.
Missions as reported to be in 1855.

As Tanjore has been from early times a scene of Missionary labour, some account of the number and state of the several Missionary establishments may be interesting.

TANJORE.—The capital of the Tanjore district, and residence of the Rajah. The Mission here was founded by the Venerable Swartz, about 1770. The Missionary, who is also the Acting Chaplain to the English Resident, is assisted by two Europeans and six Native Catechists and twelve School Masters. The number of native Christians is 1,000. There is a flourishing Boarding School for boys and girls in which English and Tamil are taught, and the whole number of children, including heathen, in the different schools connected with this Mission is 315 There are two large and substantially built Churches, one in the small Fort of Tanjore just on the side of the famous pagoda, and opposite to the great Tank, in which Swartz' statue, executed by Flaxman, stands, and the other in the Mission village outside the Fort, near a place called Manamoothe Chavady, where the remains of Swartz and Jenicki and Kohlhoff are deposited. There are also two substantial and commodious Mission houses. The Mission has a rich endowment in money and lands, left by its founder, the Venerable Swartz.

Vediapuram.—Four miles north of Tanjore, adjoining a village called Ammapettah, on the high road to Triviar and Trichinopoly. This is a new Mission Station, founded by the Reverend Doctor H. Bower in 1843, in which what were formerly called the "Ramgherry and Tripuntruty" circles are now emerged. By the last returns the number of Christians was 657, Catechists 6, School Masters 6, and School children 235. A substantial Mission house, Seminary rooms and a Catechist's house are built, and a commodious Church is in course of erection. The Theological Seminary for the whole district is established here, superintended by the Reverend H. Bower and two East Indians, and two Native teachers. The number of students in 1852 was 54. Since the first establishment of the Seminary in 1843, a great many young men have been sent out as Catechists and School Masters, and one of them is now an ordained Missionary in the Bangalore Mission. Promising youths of good character are sent to the Seminary from the other preparatory district schools and they receive a good grounding in Theology, English and the Vernacular. There are attached to it some well paid Scholarships, instituted by the late Mr. Munckton.

Vellum.—Seven miles south-west of Tanjore on one of the roads to Trichinopoly. This is also known as the "Boodaloor Mission" from one of the villages in the district. The place is elevated and considered healthy, and is the residence of the Collector in the rainy season. This is an old Mission established by Swartz, but not being formerly vigorously worked, and the people being of the Cullar caste and difficult of management, Christianity has made very little progress in the district, and the Missionary work in it has always been a discouraging one. There are seven Catechists, and six School Masters. The number of professed Christians is 544, and the children in the Village Schools, Christians and heathens, 184. There are two or three substantial churches in the villages.

Combaconum.—One of the principal towns in the Tanjore district, a stronghold of heathenism, 22 miles north-east of Tanjore. The Church here was originally built by Swartz, in the

midst of the Pettah on the banks of the Cauvery. This Mission which was very extensive was lately split in two, the western and eastern divisions. The western division is in charge of a Missionary, who lives in a part of the town called Karoopood, in the premises recently purchased from the London Society's Mission, where the Reverend J. E. Nevins had, for a number of years, zealously and faithfully laboured. There is an English Day School in the Mission compound. There are ten Catechists and nine School Masters in connection with the Mission, and the number of Christians is 838. The children in the School are 132. A few of the native Christians are employed in the Session Court, and though able, do not take any lively interest in the Mission. The Christians in the villages are poor and ignorant. The eastern division of the Combaconum Mission, and which will now probably be called the Nagore Mission, from the residence of the Missionary being fixed in the village called Nagore, not far from Tranquebar and Negapatam. This division includes Negapatam, which until very recently was a distinct mission. The number of Christians in connection with this division is 854. There are 10 Catechists, 5 School Masters and 106 school children.

CANANDAGOODY.—Fourteen miles south of Tanjore, and two miles to the north-east of the Rajah's Chutrum, where the Rajah has a country seat, public school, establishment for feeding Brahmins, pilgrims, and the poor, and also a neat bungalow with a well cultivated garden for the convenience of European travellers, where they are hospitably entertained, free of all charges, for three days. This Mission numbers 490 Christians and has a very good English Boarding School. There are 7 Catechists and School Masters and 141 children in the Village Schools. The Church and Mission house and School rooms present a very compact and picturesque appearance, but the buildings themselves are not substantial. This Mission, which is chiefly composed of Callurs, has always been rather a troublesome one.

ANICADOO.—An offshoot of the above Mission, 15 miles south of it and 30 miles from Tanjore near the Town called Puttoocottah. It is about 4 or 5 miles from the coast near Adrampatam and

Saulnaikenpatnam. The present Missionary has built a new Church and Mission and School rooms, and has laid out a garden. There is an English Boarding School. The staff of the Mission consists of 3 Catechists and 5 School Masters, and the number of the congregation is 304.

C.

ROBINSON'S LAST DAYS OF HEBER, PP. 63 TO 65 and 80 TO 91. COMMUNICATIONS REGARDING THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG PRINCE SEVAJEE OF TANJORE.

(Private.)

MY DEAR SIR,

Will you have the goodness to communicate, in any way which is most proper and usual, the purport of the enclosed letter to the Rajah Surfojee? It seems no more than right to make him some acknowledgment for his civilities. And though I have very little hope of his now sending his son to Calcutta, the advantage to the young man would be so great, that it is well to leave him an opening (in case of his changing his mind) to renew the negotiation. I conclude that they are aware, or you will, perhaps, have the goodness to explain to them, that I neither expect nor could, under any circumstances, receive any remuneration for the part which I might take in instructing him, and that he would have his option either to occupy a part of my house rent-free, or to hire one in the neighbourhood.

To yourself and Mr. Fyfe, for the kindness and hospitality which you have shown to us all, both in sickness and in health, as well as the impression, which your agreeable society has left on my mind. What can I say more than I have already said, or to express all that I feel? God bless you both, and make you long happy in each other. I am sorry to say that we have another Invalid in our party, poor Robinson, being very far from being well this morning.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Evermost truly yours,

TRICHINOPOLY, 1st April. REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TRICHINOPOLY, *1st April* 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,

May I request you to convey to His Highness the Maharaja of Tanjore, the expression of my best thanks for the kind and gratifying attention with which His Highness has honored myself and my party, during our visit to Tanjore, and the assurance that I shall, through life, continue to recollect with pleasure my introduction to the acquaintance of a Prince so much distinguished by his virtue and talents, as well as by his courteous and condescending manner, and the variety of its accomplishments?

I felt much flattered by the manner in which His Highness has been pleased to speak of my offer to superintend the education of the Prince Sevajee, in the event of his being willing to give me pleasure of his company in my present tour, and afterwards to accompany me to Calcutta. I regret extremely, though I fully feel and appreciate the causes which render this arrangement at present impossible. But I beg you at the same time to state to His Highness that, should the improved health of the Prince, or a better season of the year, make Her Highness the Ranee less reluctant to part with him for a time, it would be my study to make his stay in Calcutta as agreeable and useful to him as possible, both by directing his studies, and introducing him to the most distinguished society of the place; and that in health and every other respect, I would take the same care of him, as I should, under similar circumstances, of a son of my own Sovereign. I beg you at the same time to offer my best compliments and good wishes to His Highness the Prince Sevajee.

Believe me, Dear Sir,
Your obliged and faithful humble servant,
REGINALD CALCUTTA.

CAPTAIN J. FYFE,
&c., &c., &c., Residency, Tanjore.

To

DAVID HILL, ESQ.,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort St. George.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council that the Lord Bishop of Calcutta left this for Trichinopoly last night. The Lord Bishop visited the Rajah on the 28th ultimo, and was received in full durbar with all the marks of respect suitable to his elevated rank and sacred character. On the 29th the Rajah returned the visit, and on the 30th His Lordship paid a private visit to the Rajah of several hours.

The Rajah's character seems to have excited a good deal of interest in the Lord Bishop. His Lordship very kindly offered, with the assistance of his Chaplain, to undertake the instruction of the Rajah's son in various Branches of English Literature and Science, but though the Rajah and his son are very highly gratified and flattered by such a striking proof of his Lordship's kindness and condescension, and the Rajah himself more particularly is fully sensible of the inestimable advantages which his son would derive from the society and instruction of a person of the Lord Bishop's shining abilities and extensive acquirements; there are unfortunately insuperable objections to the arrangement. The young man's mother will on no account consent to it. "He is" (she says) "her darling and only son, and nothing but death shall separate them." When she went on the pilgrimage to Benares, and left him at Tanjore, she was near losing him, and no persuasion on earth shall ever again induce her to part from him. I foresaw this decision. It was not to be expected that an affectionate mother would sacrifice her own feelings for advantages which she cannot be supposed capable of fully appreciating.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN FYFE,

Resident.

TANJORE, 1*st April* 1826.

To

DAVID HILL, ESQ.,

Chief Secretary to Government,

FORT ST. GEORGE.

SIR,

I have already informed the Government of the gratification which the Rajah derived from the kind and disinterested proposal of the late Bishop Heber, to superintend the education of his son. His Highness was very sensibly affected by this and other instances of attention and consideration which he received from his Lord Bishop, and a testimony of respect for his memory has subscribed a thousand Rupees to his monument. This spontaneous tribute of admiration and esteem is another gratifying proof, that the extraordinary fascination of the Bishop's character extended over every person who came within the sphere of its influence.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN FYFE,

Resident.

TANJORE, *3rd April* 1826.

D. No. XLV.

A treaty and agreement made and concluded between Omdet-ool-Moolk, Serajool-Dowlah, Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor, Moonsoor Jung, Nabob of the Carnatic, Payem Ghat and Pertab Sing, Rajah of Tanjore, in the manner following :—

Whereas a destructive war, fomented and carried on by the French and their allies against the said Nabob, hath, for many years, wasted and afflicted the Province of the Carnatic. Payem Ghat, in which war, the said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor hath at length with the assistance of his allies proved victorious, and restored peace and tranquillity to the said Province, and whereas at sundry times during the said troubles, the said Rajah Pertab Sing did yield some aid and assistance to the said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan, whereby, as well as by the necessary de-

fence of his own kingdom against the French; he hath been put to great expense; and whereas by reason of the said troubles, neither the amount of Peshcush due, from the said Rajah to the Mogul, and payable to the Nabob of the Carnatic, nor the amount of the expenses of the said Rajah incurred as aforesaid, have been settled or adjusted: but now, it having pleased God to restore peace to these countries by the expulsion of the common enemy the said Nabob and the said Rajah *being equally desirous that the people whom God hath placed under their rule may enjoy the full fruits thereof*, have mutually consented to establish a firm friendship between them, and to that end they have agreed and do agree to settle and adjust all accounts and matters of dispute between them in the manner following, and they do faithfully promise each for what concerns himself punctually to perform the same.

1. The said Rajah Pertab Sing doth hereby oblige himself to pay unto the said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor the sum of twenty-two lakhs of Rupees coined in the East India Company's Mint at Fort St. George, or the value thereof in Star Pagodas coined in the said Mint, valuing the said Rupees at the rate of 350 for 100 Pagodas at the times and in manner following, that is to say:

On the day of signing this Agreement, by the said Pertab Sing three lakhs of				Rupees	3,00,000
In the month of	April 1763,	Five lakhs of		do	5,00,000
Do	Novr. 1763,	Five	do	do	5,00,000
Do	April 1764,	Five	do	do	5,00,000
Do	Aug. 1764,	Four	do	do	4,00,000
				In all Rupees	22,00,000

And the said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor doth agree to accept of the said Twenty-two lakhs of Rupees in full payment and satisfaction, for or on account of Peshcush and in full of all accounts and demands whatsoever, within the 10th day of July last past being the full term and expiration of the years of Fusly 1171.

2. The said Rajah Pertab Sing doth hereby oblige himself to pay yearly in the month of July unto the said Anaveroodeen

Khan Bahadoor or his successor, the sum of two lakhs of Rupees as Peshcush or tribute to the Mogul, and forasmuch as it hath been the usage and custom to make certain presents to the Nabob and his principal officers at the time of paying the Annual Peshcush, the said Rajah doth promise to pay yearly to the said Nabob or his successor (at the day and time of paying the said Peshcush) *the further sum of two lakhs of Rupees as a present,* provided that no further sum either for Peshcush or Durbar charges be demanded of him, which said two sums, *making together four lakhs, shall be paid in Rupees coined in the Company's Mint or in Star Pagodas at the above mentioned exchange.* And the said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor doth agree to accept of the said first-named sum of two lakhs in full for the annual Peshcush due to the Mogul, and also of the second named sum of two lakhs of Rupees in full for the usual and customary presents or Durbar charges, and doth hereby promise that he will not demand anything more.

3. Whereas the said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor hath in his possession a bond given by the said Rajah Pertab Sing unto the said Nabob's late father Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor for the sum of seven lakhs of Rupees, which bond appears fair and uncancelled, and without any receipt or endorsement thereon, although the said Rajah Pertab Sing doth allege that the same or the greatest part thereof hath been discharged, the said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor, as a testimony of his good inclinations to cultivate a lasting friendship with the said Rajah, will cause the said bond to be delivered up to him to be cancelled, as if the same had been fully paid and discharged.

4. The said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor doth hereby confirm unto the said Rajah Pertab Sing the full and free possession and enjoyment of the districts of Coiladdy and Elangar, which districts the said Nabob did give and grant unto the said Rajah during the late troubles, as may appear by the said Nabob's Sunnud.

5. The said Nabob Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor having expended immense sums during the late troubles in defence of the Province under his Government, found it necessary after the expulsion of the common enemy, to call upon several Zemindars

Poligars, and Jahgirdars, to contribute each a moderate sum towards reimbursing the moneys so expended in procuring the blessings of the peace of which they became partakers, and amongst others did demand of Tremul Row, Killadar of Arnie, his reasonable quota, but the said Tremul Row, having obstinately refused to comply therewith, and having also in other respects behaved himself disobediently, the said Nabob found himself obliged to march an army to compel him to a compliance with his demand, and did accordingly subdue and take the forts of Arnie and Doubly Guddy with all the Jaghir thereunto belonging, as also the person of the said Tremul Row with his family and others. The said Nabob having thus convinced the said Tremul Row and all the world that he can and will enfore due obedience on all who are subject to his Government, is now equally desirous of showing to all mankind that compassion is stronger in him than resentment; from the motives as well as in condescension to the request of the said Rajah Pertab Sing, the said Nabob doth hereby promise that as soon as the said Rajah shall have signed this agreement, he, the said Nabob, will cause the said Tremul Row, with his family, attendants, and all other persons who were taken and made prisoners at Arnie, to be released and set at full liberty, and further that on the day the sum of three lakhs of Rupees mentioned in the first Article hereof shall be paid, he will cause the said Tremul Row to be put in full possession of the whole Jahgir he possessed and enjoyed, before the capture of Arnie (excepting however the said fort and Doubly Guddy which the said Nabob will retain in his own possession); and provided that the said Tremul Row shall not at any time hereafter erect or cause to be erected any fortress, walled pagoda or other stronghold, and that he shall not even erect or build any wall round his dwelling house exceeding eight feet high and two feet thick, and further that the said Tremul Row shall in all things behave himself with due obedience to the Government, and pay early in the month of July unto the said Nabob or his successors the sum of ten thousand Rupees as a Nuzzar: and the said Rajah Pertab Sing doth promise for the said Tremul Row that he shall in all things demean and behave himself accordingly, and pay yearly the stipulated sum,

We, George Pigot, Esq., Governor of Fort St. George and all the forts and factories, and places subordinate thereto, President of the Council, for all the affairs of the English East India Company on the Coast of Coromandel, and also the said Council whose names are hereunto signed, *having greatly at heart the peace and tranquillity of the Countries where the Company hold possession and to which they trade, see with great satisfaction the conclusion of the treaty of friendship between Nabob Oomdut-ool Moolk, Serojool Dowlah, Anaveroodeen Khan Bahadoor, Moonseir Jung, Nabob of the Carnatic, Payen Ghat, and Pertab Sing, Rajah of Tanjore, of which the foregoing is a translation, and being willing and desirous as much as in us lies to establish the friendship between them upon a lasting foundation,* do hereby promise to guarantee the performance of the said treaty, being thereunto invited by both parties; and accordingly we do hereby promise, as far as in us lies, that in case either party shall fail in the performance of the Article, he hath thereby undertaken to perform, or any part thereof, we will, to the utmost of our honour, assist the party to compel him who shall fail to fulfil his agreement, and to render due satisfaction for his failure therein.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and caused the seal of the said Company to be affixed hereto in Fort St. George the 12th October 1762.

An agreement taken by the Honorable John Holland, Esq., President and Governor in Council of Fort St. George and Dependencies from Streenevassa Row, Heir of Tremul Row, Jahgirdar of Arnie.

The Honorable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George having restored to me the possession of the Jahgir of Arnie, which I inherited after the death of Tremul Row, my grandfather, upon the terms of the treaty of the year of Christ 1762, entered into between His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, &c., &c., &c., and His Excellency Pertab Sing, Rajah of Tanjore, I do with my own free will and consent agree to conform to the terms of the said treaty so far as it relates to the Jahgir of Arnie; ac-

knowledging that I have no right by the said treaty to the Fort of Arnie, Doubly Guddy, and I do for myself and my heirs engage in every respect, to fulfil the terms of the said treaty according to the intention and spirit thereof: binding myself to be answerable to His Highness the Nabob for annual Peshcush or Nuzzar of ten thousand Arcot Rupees to be paid yearly in the month of July, on a receipt being granted for the amount. And I further engage that I will not erect or cause to be erected any fortresses, walled pagodas, or other stronghold, and that I will not raise any wall even round my dwelling house exceeding eight feet high and two feet thick; that I will not entertain any armed peons or followers excepting only a few sebundee for the purpose of collecting the revenues of the district; and that I will in all respects behave myself with due obedience to the Carnatic Government, and to that of the Honorable Company; that I will do everything to provide for the welfare of the inhabitants, and be attentive to the increase of cultivation and improvement of the country and Jahgir of Arnie; that I will not impose or levy any new customs or duties of any kind whatsoever, and I do hereby relinquish and give up all, or any claim or demand whatever on the Company for the collections of revenues or otherwise, since the District has been under their direction and management.

(Signed in Mahratta.)

STREENEVASA ROW, TREMUL ROW,

Jahgirdar, Arnie [L.S.]

Dated in Fort St. George, the 20th day of June in the Year of Christ 1780.

E. No. XLVI.

Translation of a paper containing the Articles agreed to by the Rajah of Tanjore, dated the 30th October 1771.

The two years' Peshcush, amounting to eight lakhs of Rupees, I am to pay in ready money.

For the expenses of the Army I am to pay thirty-two lakhs and fifty thousand Rupees.

Whatever lands, money, and effects I have taken from the Marawar or Nalcoty Zemindars, I will restore. Whenever horse, sepoys, peons, &c., fighting people are required, I am to send them, and they are not to return till they have leave from Court; and the charge of batta, &c., is not to be required of the Circar.

Should the merchants and people belonging to the Company in the Tanjore country have been plundered of paddy, I am to answer it.

I am to have nothing to do with the Marawar, Nalcoty, Tondiman, &c., and if they are guilty of improper acts their punishment is to be from the Circar.

With the friends of the Circar I am to be in friendship, and with its enemies in enmity; and I am not to give place or protection in my country to the enemies and those lying under the displeasure of the Circar.

If I have taken anything from the runaway Poligars of Warriore, Pallan, and Aleanore I am to restore it, and if they are in my country I will deliver them to the Circar people.

I have given a separate treaty of friendship.

If any Europeans in the service of the Circar and Company have deserted and fled to me, I will deliver them up.

If the Company's trade in the whole Tanjore country shall be continued, I am to use their weavers well.

The fort Vellum to be given hereafter.

The districts of Elangar and Coiladdy to be conferred on me.

I am to give up to the Circar the Villages of Tinnanore, &c.

I am to give up to the Circar the Jahgir district of Arnie.

Translation of an engagement under the Seal of Rajah Tooljajee, dated 25th of October 1771.

The firm engagement of Rajah Tooljajee, Rajah of Tanjore, to the Circar is, that whereas in part of the stipulations in favor of the Circar of the Nabob Walahjah, the sum of thirty-two lakhs and fifty thousand Rupees is stipulated to be paid, in lieu of payment thereof in specie. I have appointed the Subahship of Mayaveram and some districts of the Subahship of Concurrum, the

annual revenues of which may amount to sixteen lakhs and twenty-five thousand Rupees for the discharge of the same; and accordingly the same will be entirely discharged by two years' revenues of the said lands, and after the receipt of the said money by the Circar, I shall take back again the said two Subahships which belong to me.

Translation of an engagement under the Seal of Rajah Tooljajee, dated the 26th October 1771.

The firm engagement and true acknowledgment of Rajah Tooljajee, Rajah of Tanjore, to the Circar of the Nabob Walahjah are, that with the friends of the Circar he will be in friendship, and with the enemies of the Circar in enmity; that he will on no account whatever, either secretly or openly afford assistance or support in any shape to the disturbers of the tranquillity of the Carnatic, that he will always join and be in friendship with the Circar, that whenever troops, horses, sepoys, and peons shall be required, he will send them with his Sirdar and not demand their expenses from the servants of the Circar; that he shall pay the stated peshcush yearly without deceit or delay; and that in future he shall not undertake any operation whatever. In testimony of which, I, the Rajah, have given this engagement under my hand and seal, swearing thereto by the faith I profess, that the same may appear as a Sunnud.

F. No. XLVII.

Agreement with the Rajah of Tanjore, 1776.

The satisfaction I feel on occasion of such a friendship and extraordinary justice as the Company have displayed towards me is so great, that were I to begin to tell you what my mind conceives on the occasion, the subject would never have an end: had I a thousand tongues they could not express my gratitude. When I had an interview with your Lordship, I opened to you the sentiments of my heart; but as mere verbal declarations on the subject are not sufficient, I have thought it proper to write to you a letter. I shall ever consider myself as nourished and protected

by the Company, and shall therefore never assist or succour their enemies. No measure shall ever proceed from me contrary to their interests, nor will I ever set on foot any connection with other powers without the Company's consent. This I have written as a means of increasing the friendship that is between us. In the present condition of my country, the placing of a garrison of English troops in the Fort and City of Tanjore is exceedingly necessary; but besides this garrison, if the Company allow some more troops also for the protection of my whole country, this also will be highly proper. If by the favor of Heaven this be put in execution, neither I nor any of my family will need to fear that the calamities of war will fall upon their country again, and if the Company only favor me thus far, I will with pleasure assign them out of my revenues the sum of four lakhs of pagodas per annum for their Military expenses. The mode of payment as follows: November 20,000, December 40,000, January 40,000, February 1,00,000, March 1,00,000, April 1,00,000.

For my Body Guard I shall keep a body of men from 100 to 500, and I want not one man either horse or foot, more than that number. As my finances are in the utmost disorder and the state of my country all in confusion, I must throw myself on the Company for my present support. I therefore wish them to buy of me at a reasonable rate all the grain of the present year, excepting what my country may be in need of. By this means the Company will not be burthened, and I shall be enabled to defray the expenses of my Government, without running into debt.

The country of Tanjore is the Company's. I have only to beg they will preserve my honor. Sunnud granted to the East India Company by the Rajah of Tanjore.

The Rajah's Seal.

In consideration of the services rendered to me by the Honorable East India Company, and in hope of their future protection,

I do hereby, agreeably to my promise, make over certain lands to them, as specified hereunder, in the Suba or district of Munnargoody, viz.: the Seaport town of Nagore with a small island belonging to it. 1 Mahal, pergunnah of Kular, consisting of 8 Magans, viz.:

Magan of	Wool	41	Villages.
Do.	Chickly	62	"
Do.	Sunly Mahadeur ...	34	"
Do.	Polonichy	27	"
Do.	Muckly	27	"
Do.	Kellaguddy	25	"
Do.	Tunoor	31	"
Do.	Adumangalcm	8	"
		255	"
Pergunnah of Wollevellum	...	21	"
		276	"

Being altogether, including the town and seaport of Nagore, two hundred and seventy-seven villages or small towns which I make over to the Company aforesaid as a Jaghir. They will be pleased to acquiesce to the following conditions.

I. The ryots shall enjoy their shares of cultivation, Inams and other privileges, as heretofore has been usual.

II. Such Inams as have been granted for the use of Pagodas or charity to Brahmins, or maintaining choultries and water pandals, shall be continued as formerly. Such spots of land contiguous to Pagodas or Brahmin houses, which are known by the name of Brimh and Wast-tane, and which have been rented for money or in kind, or have been let out as chuttrams, shall be enjoyed by the present possessor as usual. The charity allowances for the Rhut or coach of the Pagoda shall be continued.

III. No houses shall be built by the Circar in any villages where Brahmins reside. No European shall be allowed to dwell near any tanks or ponds belonging to Pagodas or Brahmin villages.

IV. A number of coolies and labourers, in proportion to the quantity of water wanted for the Company's lands, shall be sent from those districts to dig and repair the water courses and banks of the rivers in the Subah of Munnargoody. A just portion shall be paid to the Circar from the Company's land of whole charges incurred in the Subah of Munnargoody for repairing the Anicut and making new water courses.

V. If any Tamil ryot or dependant of my Circar flies for protection to the Company's districts, no protection shall be given to any such persons, but they shall be given up to me.

VI. People shall be sent as usual to draw the Rhut or coach of the Pagoda at the time of procession.

VII. If I should at any time disagree with the French, Dutch and others settled in my country, and prohibit any grain being carried to their settlements, the Company shall in like manner prohibit any grain from being carried out of their districts to these places.

VIII. The Circar people collect duties in the districts bordering on Nagore; these shall continue to be paid, but no duties shall be paid by me on any article or commodities purchased at Nagore, for my own use. The Company will be pleased to observe the abovementioned eight conditions and enjoy without molestation the lands made over to them.

Dated 17th June 1778 of the Christian era of 21st Jamm-dee-ul. Amul 1179, year of Tanjore.

G. No. XLVIII.

Record No. 1.—Treaty with the Rajah of Tanjore, 1787.

The Rajah of Tanjore Seal.	The Company's Seal.

Treaty and Agreement concluded between the Honorable Major General Archibald Campbell, Knight of the Bath, President and Governor of Fort Saint George, on behalf of the United-

Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and His Exeellency Ameer Sing, Rajah of Tanjore.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company having taken into their serious consideration the great advantages which may be attained by improving the blessings of peace now happily re-established on the Coast of Coromandel in the Carnatic, and the country of Tanjore, and considering the present hour best suited for settling and arranging, by a just and equitable treaty, a plan for the future defence and protection of the Carnatic, the Tanjore country and Northern Circars, on a solid and lasting foundation, have communicated these their sentiments to His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore, who being fully impressed with the propriety and wisdom of such an arrangement, has, for himself, his heirs, and successors, adjusted and concluded a solid and permanent Treaty with the Honorable East India Company upon the principles and conditions hereinafter mentioned. In consequence whereof it is stipulated and agreed, that due provision shall be made for the Military Establishment, and also for discharging the expense of the war. In the event of war breaking out in the Tanjore country, or in the Carnatic, or any part of the Coast of Coromandel, contributions or proportions of the revenues of the contracting parties shall be united into one common stock, to be applied for their mutual defence and security.

And as it is necessary that the applications of the said contributions both for Peace and War should be reposed in the United Company or their representatives, together with the direction of the war, the command of the Army, Magazines of Stores, and Provisions, with full power to occupy or dismantle such forts as by them shall be deemed necessary for the general security, the said contracting parties do hereby solemnly engage and agree for themselves and their successors and with each other in manner following, that is to say :—

Article 1.—The friends and enemies of His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore, and of the English United East India Company, shall be considered friends and enemies of both.

Article 2.—His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore will contribute towards the Military Peace Establishment, and shall pay into the Treasury of the said United Company, the annual sum of four lakhs of Star Pagodas, to commence on the 12th July in the year of Christ 1787, corresponding to the 30th Aunee of the Malabar month of Pelavunga year, and to the Fusly 1179, divided into kists payable at the following periods. November 20,000, December 50,000, January 50,000, February 90,000, March 90,000, April 1,00,000. Total 4,00,000 Star Pagodas.

Article 3.—The annual contributions of four lakhs of Pagodas to be paid by His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore towards the Army Peace Establishment, is proportioned to the gross revenues of his country, estimated at ten lakhs of Pagodas; and it is hereby stipulated and agreed that whenever the annual gross revenues of the country shall rise above ten lakhs of Pagodas, the annual contribution of His Excellency in time of peace shall likewise be increased according to the same scale and standard.

Article 4.—In case of failure in the punctual payment of the 4 lakhs of Pagodas, already mentioned, to the extent of 50,000 Pagodas for the period of one month after the same shall become due, His Excellency the Rajah agrees that the Company shall have power to enter upon any of the districts in the Tanjore country that shall appear to them necessary to discharge the amount of the sum in arrears, and that the Company shall have power to appoint superintendents or receivers to collect or receive from the Rajah's renters, managers and amildars, all the rents, revenues, duties, and customs of the said districts; and these superintendents, or receivers, shall exercise all necessary authority for collecting such rents, revenues, duties, and customs of the said districts, giving regular receipts for all the monies which may be received by the said superintendents, who shall have full power to inspect and examine all cutcherry receipts and accounts of the lands and districts aforesaid, as well as to ascertain the state of all other revenues which shall be collected annually within the said districts, and when the full amount of the arrears due shall have been paid to the Company, the superintendent or receiver shall be immediately recalled.

Article 5.—At the appointment of the superintendent or receiver, His Excellency the Rajah will furnish the Company with the obligations of the amildars, renters, or farmers of each district; and if they do not pay the money punctually to the superintendent or receivers, agreeable thereto, His Excellency the Rajah, at the request of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, shall and will, immediately dismiss the said amildars, renters, or farmers, and appoint such others in their stead as the President and Council of Fort St. George shall recommend, after taking from them the usual obligations, which shall be delivered to the Company by His Excellency.

Article 6.—That the exercise of power over the said districts and farms, by virtue of the conditions mentioned in the 4th and 5th Articles, in case of failure in the payment of any of the kists, shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to deprive His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore or his successor of the Civil Government thereof, of the honor and dignity of his family, but the same shall be preserved to him and them inviolate, saving and excepting the powers in the Articles 4 and 5 expressed and mentioned.

Article 7.—That, in the event of any war breaking out in the Carnatic, in Tanjore, or on the Coast of Coromandel, the said United Company shall charge themselves with the direction, order, and conduct thereof, and during the continuance of such war shall apply four-fifths of their whole revenues in the Carnatic and in the Northern Circars annually to the Military expenses of the war.

Article 8.—That, in the like event, His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore shall pay into the Treasury of the said United Company four-fifths of his revenues to the general expenses of such war, to be applied in such manner as the said United Company or their representatives shall find necessary for their common safety and interests, as also for the interests of their allies in the Carnatic and on the Coast of Coromandel, and it is, moreover, agreed that His Excellency's proportion of the debt and expenses incurred by war shall henceforth be settled at one-fifth part of the whole amount thereof.

Article 9.—For the more effectual security of the payment of four-fifths of the revenues of His Excellency annually to the Military expenses of the war, and to remove every doubt on the part of the Company of any secretion or diversion of the said revenues from the purpose aforesaid, the President in Council of Fort St. George, in behalf of the Company, shall have full power and authority, during such war, to appoint one or more inspectors or accountants to inspect and examine all country and cutcherry accounts and receipts, of all the countries and district, of His Excellency, as well as all other revenues, duties or customs, collected by, or for the use of, His Excellency. And in case the said four-fifths of the revenues or any part thereof are diverted from the discharge of the current expenses incurred thereby, the said United Company shall have full power to appoint superintendents and receivers over the said countries and districts of the Rajah, in the manner specified in the 4th Article of his treaty with the same authority, and under the like restriction and conditions therein expressed in case of failure.

Article 10.—That the said annual four-fifths from the revenues of His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore, shall, after the termination of the war, continue to be applied to the discharge of all debts and expenses that may be incurred, or arise, during the course of the war, until his proportion of one-fifth part of the whole expenses is paid off and discharged.

Article 11.—It is expressly understood and declared that so soon as the expenses incurred by the war are paid off and discharged, the superintendent and receivers shall be immediately recalled.

Article 12.—That during the application of the four-fifths of the said gross revenues to the discharge of the debts and expenses incurred in the time of war, the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Articles of this treaty shall be and remain dormant and be of no effect, but shall recommence and regain their full force and validity from, and immediately after, all the debts and expenses of such war have been fully and proportionately paid off and discharged.

Article 13.—In case His Excellency shall, at any time, have occasion for any number of troops for the security and collection

of his revenues, the support of his authority, or the good order and government of his country, the said United Company shall, and will, furnish a sufficient number of troops for the purpose on a public representation being made by His Excellency to the President and Council of Fort St. George of the necessity of employing such force and the objects to be obtained thereby. In case of the march of such troops, the additional batta and expense attending their movements shall be annually discharged by His Excellency at the end of each year.

Article 14.—The late Rajah of Tanjore having been, at the time of his death, indebted to his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic for arrears of peishcush since the year 1776, which at the commencement of the Fusly 1179 or 12th July 1787 will amount to the sum of twelve lakhs, fifty-seven thousand one hundred and fifty-two pagodas, and having also been indebted to British subjects whose names are set forth in Schedule hereunto annexed, for various sums of money lent by them to, and for the use of, the Rajah, which with interest are computed to amount to about the sum of four lakhs of pagodas, it is hereby stipulated and agreed that for the liquidation of the said arrears of peishcush, His Excellency shall appropriate annually the sum of pagodas 1,05,775. To his annual peishcush to the Nabob the sum of 1,14,225, and to His Excellency's private creditors, the annual sum of 80,000. In all three lakhs (3,00,000) pagodas.

Payable in kists as follows :—

In November	...10,000	In May ...	...60,000.
December...	...10,000	June	...60,000.
January	...10,000	July ...	...50,000.
February...	...10,000	August ...	...40,000.
March...	...10,000	September	...40,000.

Total Star Pagodas 3,00,000.

Article 15.—The private debts of His Excellency not being as yet accurately ascertained, it is hereby agreed that the debts due to the British subjects shall be forthwith examined, adjusted and settled, for which purpose the creditors shall be called upon to

deliver their demands to the President in Council of Madras stated with simple interest at the rate of 12 per cent per annum to the 12th day of July 1787, which accounts will be examined by agents appointed on the part of the Rajah, and by the Governor in Council on behalf of the creditors, after which they will be laid before His Excellency, and on receiving his final approbation they shall be classed amongst the list of his private creditors, and become entitled to a share or rateable proportion of the said sum of 80,000 pagodas agreeable to such equitable arrangement as may be formed by the Governor in Council, for the benefit of the Rajah and the creditors. And it is agreed that so soon as the debts and interests due from the Rajah to the British subjects are paid off and discharged, the annual payment of 80,000 pagodas agreed to be made by the Rajah for the benefit of the creditors shall from thenceforth cease and determine.

Article 16.—And whereas His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic has, by a solemn deed assigned over to the East India Company the arrears of peishcush already due, and the annual peishcush which shall henceforth become due to His Highness, in part payment of his debt to the Company, His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore, willing to manifest his regard to the Company and upright intention towards the Nabob of the Carnatic, does hereby cheerfully agree to pay into the hands of the India Company for the account of the Nabob of the Carnatic, the whole annual appropriations to His Highness specified in the 14th Article, upon the President and Council of Fort St. George indemnifying His Excellency of the amount of all such monies as they shall receive on that account. In like manner the Company shall be accountable to His Excellency on account of the money received on behalf of the creditors.

In confirmation of all the articles in the preceding Treaty, Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of Fort St. George, invested with full powers on behalf of the India Company, has subscribed and sealed two instruments of the same tenor and date at Tanjore, on the tenth day of April in the year of Christ 1787, and His Excellency Maharajah Ameersing, for himself, his heirs and suc-

cessors, has also subscribed and sealed the same instruments at Tanjore, the twentieth of the month Jamad-ul-Aaker and in the year of the Hegira 1201.

The Company's Seal.	(Signed) ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

Signed and Sealed by the Honorable Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor, &c., and by His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore.

(Signed) ALEXANDER MACLEOD,
Resident.

(„) J. STUART,
Colonel Commanding.

By order of the Honorable the Governor.

(Signed) A. MONTGOMERY CAMPBELL,
Secretary.

Schedules of private debts referred to in the 14th Article.

			Principal.
Mr. Alexander Brody		Star Pagodas	99,254
„ Duncan Baine		„	30,000
Sir George Ramsay		„	20,000
Colonel Mactalken		„	72,000
Major (or Captain) Burrows ...		„	26,100
Mr. White	5,706		
Received	1,000	„	4,706
Mr. Swartz, for money subscribed by gentlemen for the benefit of orphans			1,000
		Star Pagodas	2,53,060

The above debts bear interest at the rate of 12 per cent per annum, and there is now between 4 and 5 years' interest due upon them.

(Signed) ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

No. XLIX.

Record No. 2—Treaty with the Rajah of Tanjore, 1792.

Whereas a certain engagement was entered into between the Honorable East India Company and His Excellency Ameer Sing, Rajah of Tanjore, bearing date the 10th day of April 1787, for the purpose of cementing an everlasting friendship with each other, and of contributing mutually towards the defence of the Carnatic and countries dependent thereon, whereby it was stipulated that the said Company shall maintain a military force, and that the said Rajah of Tanjore should pay annually a certain sum of money arising from the revenues of his country, and should furnish sufficient and satisfactory security, under certain conditions expressed in the said engagement, for the regular payment of the sum stipulated to the said Company, and whereas it appears that the resources of the said country of Tanjore are not competent to enable the said Rajah to perform the stipulations in the said engagements; and whereas it further appears that the security which the said Rajah of Tanjore agreed in the above-mentioned engagement to furnish for the due payment of the stipulated sum to the said Company, is in its nature inadequate to the end intended, and whereas certain agreements have also been entered into between the said Company and the said Rajah for the discharge of certain debts due by the said Rajah to private persons, it has been mutually agreed, in consequence of the above written circumstances, that the engagement aforesaid shall henceforth be considered by the contracting parties as annulled and no longer of effect or in force, and in lieu thereof, the Honorable Sir Charles Oakely, Baronet, President and Governor in Council of Fort St. George, on behalf of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, their heirs and successors, on the one part, and His Exeellency Ameer Sing, Rajah of Tanjore, in his own name, and for himself, his heirs and successors, on the other part, agree to the following articles, which shall be binding in the respective parties for the purposes contained therein, notwithstanding all, or any of, the conditions stipulated in the engagement, dated 10th April 1787, to the contrary.

Article 1.—The friends and enemies of the contracting parties shall be considered the friends and enemies of both.

Article 2.—In order to execute the foregoing article in its full extent, the English East India Company agree to maintain a military force, and the Rajah of Tanjore agrees to contribute annually a certain sum of money hereinafter mentioned, as his share of the expense of the said military force, the said Rajah further agreeing that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of troops supported by it, shall be left entirely to the said Company.

Article 3.—It is hereby also agreed that for the further security and defence of the countries belonging and subject to the contracting parties in the Carnatic, &c.; that all forts shall be garrisoned by the troops of the said Company, and in the event of war breaking out in the Carnatic and countries appertaining to either party, and dependent on the Carnatic or contiguous thereto, it is agreed, for the better prosecution of it, that so long as it shall last, the said Company shall possess full authority over the Tanjore country, and shall collect the revenues thereof, the said Company hereby engaging that during such war they will pay to the said Rajah one lakh of pagodas (1,00,000) per annum, and one-fifth share of the net revenue arising therefrom, and that at the conclusion of the war the Tanjore country shall be restored to the Rajah, except in certain cases, which are hereinafter mentioned.

Article 4.—The Rajah of Tanjore agrees to pay to the said Company, for the purpose of mutual defence, the sum of three lakhs and fifty thousand Star Pagodas annually as his share of the expenses for the military force, and also in consequence of an agreement between the said Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic, a further sum of one lakh fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-five (1,14,285) Star Pagodas annually, on account of the peishcush payable from Tanjore to the said Nabob, and by him transferred in absolute right to the said Company; and the said Rajah further engages to pay the sum of 60,000 Star Pagodas per annum towards the discharge of certain debts sanctioned by the said Company and specified in the schedule

hereunto annexed No. 2, which further sum of sixty thousand (60,000) Star Pagodas shall cease in the full liquidation of the said debts.

Article 5.—Although the sums abovementioned constitute the regular stated payments for which the Rajah of Tanjore is to be accountable under the heads of subsidy, peishcush, and private debts, yet the said Company, considering the actual state of the Tanjore country, which has for many years been declining in its revenue, and desirous of affording the said Rajah as much present relief as may be consistent with the absolute necessities of their own Government, in the confidence that he will turn it to the improvement of his country and the comfort of his people, agree that a temporary suspension shall take place with respect to a part of the annual payment stated in the foregoing article, that is to say, for three years, commencing with the present Fusly or 12th July last, they consent that the annual demand of one lakh fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-five (1,14,285) Star Pagodas on account of peishcush shall be postponed, and that the amount which at the expiration of that period will become due, being three lakhs forty-two thousand eight hundred and fifty-five Star Pagodas, shall be added to the arrears owing by the said Rajah on his former engagements; and the said Rajah agrees, towards the liquidation of this aggregate balance, to pay fifty thousand Star Pagodas per annum, commencing from 12th July last, and to be continued till the whole shall be discharged. And after the expiration of three years to pay his annual peishcush of one lakh fourteen thousand two hundred and eight-five (1,14,285) Star Pagodas regularly, as it becomes due. Thus the whole sum to be paid, after the expiration of three years, will be five lakhs fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-five (5,14,285) Pagodas, for account of the said Company, and sixty thousand Star Pagodas per annum for account of the private creditors.

Article 6.—In order to make good the sum stipulated to be paid annually for three years, namely, three lakhs and fifty thousand (3,50,000) Star Pagodas on account of the Rajah's share of the military expense, fifty thousand Star Pagodas on

account of arrears, and sixty thousand (60,000) Star Pagodas on account of private debts, the said Rajah agrees to pay the amount of the said three sums, being four lakhs sixty thousand (4,60,000) Star Pagodas into the Company's Treasury at Madras at the following periods.

1st November, 30,000. 1st December, 40,000. 1st January, 40,000. 1st February, 50,000. 1st March, 50,000. 1st April, 50,000. 1st May, 50,000. 1st June, 50,000. 1st July, 1,00,000. Total Star Pagodas 4,60,000. And it is mutually agreed that at the end of three years, when the additional payment of one lakh fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-five Star Pagodas per annum is to commence, a proportional increase shall take place in each of the above instalments, and that on the liquidation of the private debts before mentioned, a proportionable deduction shall be made on that account.

Article 7.—If, contrary to the intentions of the said Rajah, any part of the sums mentioned in the instalment or kistbundy fixed by the foregoing article, shall not be fully paid at the expiration of fifteen days from the time limitted, in that case the said Company shall assume the management of, and make the collection of revenues from, the districts mentioned in the Schedule I hereunto annexed, according to the following conditions; and for this the present engagement shall be considered sufficient authority, the said Company, through their President in Council of Fort St. George, giving immediate and explicit information according to the tenor thereof, to the said Rajah; who shall, on the arrival of the Company's officers in the said districts, recall all his officers, except one in each district, which officer shall remain at the Sudder Cutcherry and shall be furnished annually by the officer of the said Company, with copies of Sudder Cutcherry accounts of the gross collections and of the net receipts under the attestation of the officer of the said Company and of the Sudder Omlah of the district.

First.—The said Company shall assume the management of such district, or districts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collection, shall have fallen in arrears.

Second.—The said Company agree that a deduction shall take place proportionally from the amount of the nine kists above-mentioned, equal to the amount of the net revenue of the district or districts which shall have been assumed as above, such deduction commencing from the day that the assumption shall take place. It is hereby also mutually agreed that an account called "Balance Account" shall be immediately opened for this and other purposes hereinafter mentioned, bearing an interest of eight per cent per annum; between the Rajah and the said Company, in which the said Rajah shall be debited for the balance accrued in his above stipulated payments, and also for the amount deducted as above from the nine kists, and shall be credited for the net revenues collected from the said district or districts, the said Company continuing to exercise authority in, and to make the collections from the same, until, in consequence of the full liquidation of the private debts and diminution of the annual sum to be for that purpose paid by the said Rajah to the said Company according to the 4th Article, that the said balance account shall be equal on the debit and credit side, and nothing shall remain due to the said Company; then the said district or districts shall revert to the management of the said Rajah.

Third.—Whenever the said district or districts thus assumed, shall be restored, according to the above condition, it is agreed, that in case any of the kists for the sum remaining due, after the deduction of the sum of sixty thousand (60,000) Star Pagodas, that is to say, for the sum of five lakhs fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-five (5,14,285) Star Pagodas, be not paid fifteen days after the expiration of the time limited, the said Company shall have equal power to assume the districts mentioned in the said Schedule No. I, as in the first instance, and shall accordingly assume such district or districts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collection, shall equal the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrears, from which they shall realize the balance that shall have arisen in the payment of the kists, and shall give credit to the said Rajah for the surplus and subsequent net revenues, in part payment of the sum of five lakhs fourteen thousand two hundred and eighty-five (5,14,285) Star Pagodas; and in this case the management of

the district or districts thus assumed shall for ever continue in the possession of the said Company, anything contained in the third Article of the present engagement to the contrary, notwithstanding, and the said Company agree to give to the said Rajah credit for the net revenue arising therefrom.

Fourth.—In order to prevent any loss arising to either party from this measure, it is mutually agreed that the district or districts which shall thus be assumed by the said Company, shall be entire as mentioned in the said Schedule, and not parts of districts.

Fifth.—In consequence of this measure whereby the districts mentioned in the Schedule No. I, become responsible for any arrears that may accrue in the payment of the above stipulated kists, the said Rajah agrees that he will not grant tunkaws or assignments on any account on the revenues thereof; and, if contrary to this condition, any tunkaws or assignments should exist when the said districts or any of them shall be assumed by the said Company, such tunkaws or assignments shall be declared by the said Company and the said Rajah, to be of no value, nor shall they remain in effect.

Sixth.—It is agreed between the contracting parties that the above described balance account shall be annually adjusted, and a committee consisting of four respectable and capable persons, of which two shall be nominated by the said Company and two by the said Rajah, shall assemble on the 1st day of August of every year, commencing with 1793, for the purpose of adjusting and of drawing out a fair and equitable statement thereof.

Article 8.—In case the said Rajah shall at any time have occasion for any number of troops for the collection of his revenues, the support of his authority or the good order and government of his country, the said Company agree to furnish a sufficient number of troops for that purpose on public representation being made by the said Rajah to the President in Council of Fort St. George, of the necessity for employing such troops, and of the object to be attained thereby, and the said Rajah agrees to defray the additional expense of such troops, so long as they may be employed at his request. This additional expense being

the sum over and above the expense of such troops while in garrison or at fixed quarters, and it shall be at the option of the said Rajah to reimburse the said surplus expense, either on the conclusion of the service on which such troops may have been employed, in money, or so add it to the debit side of the account, called "balance account," as more particularly explained in the second condition of the seventh Article.

Article 9.—The said Rajah shall receive regular information of all negotiations which shall relate to declaring war, or making peace, wherein the said Company may engage, and the interests of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be concerned, and the said Rajah shall be considered as an ally of the said Company in all treaties, which shall in any respect affect the Carnatic and countries depending thereon; or belonging to either of the contracting parties, contiguous thereto, and the said Rajah agrees that he will not enter into any negotiations or political correspondence with any European or Native power without the consent of the said Company.

Article 10.—The said Rajah agrees to allow for the support of Surfojee, the adopted son of the late Rajah Tooljajee, deceased, the sum of eleven thousand Star Pagodas per annum, and for the maintenance of the widows of the said Tooljajee, the further sum of three thousand Star Pagodas each per annum; which payments shall be made, by equal monthly instalments into the hands of the Company, or whomsoever they may appoint to receive them, and applied to the above purposes according to their discretion.

This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles and having two Schedules annexed thereto, marked Nos. 1 and 2, shall be in force and shall have effect from the 12th day of July 1792, corresponding with the 22nd day of the month of Zekaida, 1206 Hegira, and the contracting parties having affixed their respective Seals and Signatures to two counterparts on the dates undermentioned, that is to say, the Honorable Sir Charles Oakely, Baronet, President and Governor in Council of Fort Saint George, shall affix his Seal and Signature to one counterpart on the part of the Honorable East India Company, and His Excellency Ameer Singh, Rajah

of Tanjore, shall affix his Seal and Signature to another counterpart, shall be exchanged.

Signed and Sealed at Fort Saint George, the 11th day of June 1793.

(Signed) CHARLES OAKELY.
(„) E. W. FALLSFIELD.

SCHEDULE No. I.

List of districts with the amount of the net revenues from each at which they shall be estimated and assumed according to the 7th Article of the accompanying Treaty in force from the 12th July, corresponding with the 22nd Zekaida, 1206 Hegira.

Munnargudy...............	Net revenue	2,45,198
Trivady........................	„	1,49,609
Mayaveram	„	1,64,668
Puttoocootah	„	27,638
	Star Pagodas...	5,87,113

By the first condition of the 7th Article of the said Treaty, it is agreed that the said Company shall assume the management of the said district or districts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collection, shall equal the amount of kist which shall have fallen in arrear.

The said Company therefore by virtue of this condition, shall assume a district or districts from among the abovementioned, the net revenue of which shall be as near as possible equal to the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrears.

Signed and Sealed at Fort Saint George, the 11th day of June 1793.

(Signed) CHARLES OAKELY.
(„) E. W. FALLSFIELD.

SCHEDULE No. 2.

Schedule of private debts referred to in the 4th Article.

Mr. Alexander Brodie	Star Pagodas	99,254
„ Duncan Baine	„	30,000
Sir George Ramsay	„	20,000

Colonel Macklekan		Star Pagodas	72,000
Major (or Captain) Burronso		„	26,100
Mr. White	5,706	„	
Received...	1,000	„	
	———	„	4,706
Mr. Swartz, for money subscribed by gentlemen for the benefit of orphans		„	1,000
		Star Pagodas...	2,53,060

The above debt bears interest at the rate of twelve per cent per annum.

II. No. L.

Record No. 3—Treaty with the Rajah of Tanjore, 1799.

Treaty for cementing the friendship and alliance between the Honorable Company and His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore, and for establishing the Government of Tanjore on a permanent foundation.

Whereas the stipulations and conditions of the Treaty of 1792, concluded between the Honorable Sir Charles Oakely, Baronet, Governor in Council of Fort Saint George, and His Excellency Ameer Sing, late Rajah of Tanjore, have been found inadequate to the intentions of the contracting parties; and whereas His Excellency Maharajah Surfojee, Rajah of Tanjore, has, by a certain instrument, under his signature, previous to his elevation to the Musnud of his ancestors, engaged to consent to such arrangements as may be deemed expedient for the better management of the country of Tanjore, particularly for the due administration of justice, and also for securing to the Honorable English East India Company a regular discharge of their existing and future demands on Tanjore, wherefore the present Treaty is concluded between His Excellency Surfojee, Rajah of Tanjore, on his own part, and Benjamin Torin, Esq., Resident of Tanjore, on behalf of the Company, being invested with full powers by the Right Honorable the Earl of Mornington Bahadoor, Governor-general of Bengal, according to the following Articles.

Article 1.—Such part of all former Treaties with the former Rajah of Tanjore, as are intended to establish the friendship and alliance between the Honorable Company and His Excellency the Rajah of Tanjore, are hereby strengthened and confirmed, and the contracting parties mutually agree that the friends and enemies of either, shall be considered the friends and enemies of both.

Article 2.—The several provisions heretofore established for enabling the contracting parties to carry the spirit and intention of the preceding Article into execution having proved defective, and the result of an enquiry instituted by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, with the previous written consent of His Excellency Maharajah Surfojee, for the purpose of ascertaining the actual state and condition of the country of Tanjore, having proved that it has become indispensably necessary to establish a regular and permanent system for the better administration of the revenues of the said country; it is stipulated and agreed that all former provisions for securing a partial or temporary interference on the part of the Honorable Company in the Government, or in the administration of the revenues of the country of Tanjore, shall be entirely annulled, and that in lieu thereof a permanent system for the collection of the revenue and for the administration of justice shall be established in the manner hereinafter described.

Article 3.—The Honorable Company shall be at liberty as soon as possible, to ascertain, determine, and establish rights of property, and to fix a reasonable assignment upon the several subahs, pergunahs, and villages of the country of Tanjore, and to secure a fixed and permanent revenue, and the said assessment so ascertained, and fixed, shall not be liable to change, but shall be collected according to fixed rent-rolls by such officers as shall be appointed for that purpose.

Article 4.—A Court or Courts shall be established for the due administration of Civil and Criminal Justice, under the sole authority of the English East India Company. The said Courts shall be composed of officers to be appointed by the Governor in Council of Fort Saint George for the time being, and shall in

no instance whatever be subject to the control, authority, or interference of the said Rajah, but shall be conducted according to such ordinances and regulations (framed with due regard to the existing laws and usages of the country) as shall from time to time be enacted and published by the said Governor in Council.

Article 5.—The revenues shall be collected according to the rates of assessment, to be established by the third Article, by the officers to be appointed by the said Governor in Council for that purpose, and the said Rajah shall exercise no control whatever, nor in any manner interfere in the administration of the said revenues.

Article 6.—Whereas it is stipulated and agreed by the fifth Article of the Treaty of 1792, that the payment to be made to the Honorable Company by His Excellency the Rajah shall amount to five lakhs, seventy-four thousand two hundred and eighty-five Pagodas per annum, under the different denominations of subsidy, peshcush, public and private debts, it is now stipulated and agreed that these distinctions shall for ever cease, and that the whole revenue shall be collected and accounted for by the said Company, in the manner hereafter provided. The said Company charging themselves with the payment of that part of the registered private debt which has not already been transferred to their account.

Article 7.—In lieu of the said stipulations in the fifth Article of the Treaty of 1792, it is hereby stipulated and agreed that His Excellency the Rajah shall, in all cases, receive annually one lakh of Star Pagodas, which shall be considered to be the first charge payable from the net revenue of Tanjore. In addition to the said sum of one lakh of Star Pagodas, His Excellency shall receive a proportion of one-fifth, to be calculated on the remainder of the net revenue after deducting all charges of collection, of whatever description, and the charge specified in the following article.

Article 8.—It is stipulated and agreed that the sum of twenty-five thousand Star Pagodas shall, in all cases, be appropriated to the support of the late Rajah Ameer Sing, and shall

be considered as a chargo on the revenue to be deducted, previous to the calculation of the proportion of one-fifth above-mentioned. The residue of the revenues, after the foregoing deduction, shall be at the disposal of the said Company.

Article 9.—It is stipulated and agreed that the Rajah shall be treated on all occasions, in his own territories, as well as in those of the Company, with all the attention, respect, and honor which is due to a friend and ally of the British nation.

Article 10.—Whereas His Excellency the Rajah has had occasion to complain of inconvenience to His Excellency and his servants, from the present mode of garrisoning His Excellency's heriditary Fort of Tanjore by a part of the Honorable Company's Troops, it is stipulated and agreed with a view to the accommodation and satisfaction of His Excellency, that the said Fort of Tanjore shall be evacuated by the Company's troops entirely, and that His Excellency shall be at full liberty to garrison the said Fort in such manner as to him shall seem fit.

Provided always, that in the event of an invasion of the territories of the Company or of their allies, or in the event of any failure in the due performance of the engagement contracted by His Excellency the Rajah, the said Company shall again have power to occupy the said Fort, as a military post, for the protection and mutual interests of the contracting parties. The said Company binding themselves to evacuate the said Fort as soon as the reasons for re-occupying it shall no longer exist.

Article 11.—His Excellency the Rajah stipulates and agrees that the said Fort shall in no case whatever become an asylum for public offenders or for persons desirous of escaping from the jurisdiction of the Courts of Civil and Criminal justice or from the authority of the Revenue Officers, or of any other branches of the authority of the Honorable Company, and His Excellency the Rajah further agrees to deliver up all such persons without delay on application from such officer or officers as the Governor in Council of Fort St. George shall appoint for that purpose.

Article 12.—In complaints brought before any of the Courts of justice, in which it shall appear either by the application of the Rajah or the representatives of the defendants at or before the

time of giving in his, or her answer, or by the petition of the complainant, that both parties are relations, or servants, or dependants of His Excellency, or inhabitants usually resident within the Fort of Tanjore. It is stipulated and agreed that such parties shall, in the first instance, be referred for justice to the Rajah or to any person he may appoint to dispense it. Any complaint against the Rajah's relations, immediate servants, or others, residing in the Fort of Tanjore, by persons of a different description, shall in the first instance be made to the Company's representative at Tanjore, who shall refer it to His Excellency. The Rajah hereby engages to order an immediate investigation to be made in his Court of justice, or in case the parties should desire it to order the dispute to be referred to a proper arbitration, His Excellency engaging to bring it to a direct issue, and to carry the sentence or award, if unfavourable to his relation or servant, into immediate execution.

Article 13.—In order that His Excellency the Rajah may have full satisfaction in respect to the revenues of the territory hereby subjected to the management of the Company, His Excellency shall be at liberty to inspect the accounts of the Head Cutcherry, or Collector's treasury, from time to time, or to station a vakeel or accountant at his own expense, for the purpose of taking and transmitting to His Excellency, copies of any or of all the accounts which shall be recorded in the Head Cutcherry or treasury of the Collector.

Article 14.—Whereas a certain annual peshcush amounting to two thousand (2,000) Chukrums is payable by the Danish Government of Tranquebar, for lands held of the Rajah of Tanjore in the vicinity of that place, it is stipulated and agreed that the said peshcush shall continue to be received by His Excellency the Rajah without any deduction from His Excellency's proportion of the revenue as hereinbefore stipulated.

Article 15.—And whereas it is necessary to the convenience and comfort of His Excellency the Rajah that certain supplies of rice, gram and other grain should be supplied for the use of His Excellency, the Company bind themselves to furnish the said supplies as often as the Rajah shall find it necessary to

apply for this purpose, His Excellency binding himself to pay for the said grain, with the charges of transportation at the rate of the current prices for the time being.

The Treaty consisting of fifteen Articles, being settled this day the 25th October 1799, corresponding to the 12th Apeshy in the year Sidharty by Benjamin Torin, Esq., on the part of, and in the name of, the Right Honorable Richard Earl Mornington, Governor-General aforesaid, and by His Excellency Maharajah Surfojee Rajah, on his own part, the said Benjamin Torin, Esq, has delivered to His Excellency Maharajah Surfojee Rajah, one copy of the same signed and sealed by himself, and His Excellency Maharajah Surfojee Rajah has delivered to Benjamin Torin, Esq., another copy of the same sealed and signed by himself, and Benjamin Torin, Esq., engages that the said Treaty shall be ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General under his seal and signature within forty-five days from the date hereof.

(Signed.) Sri Ram Pretab, [L.S.]

J.

Correspondence regarding the Raj and Royal Family of Tanjore after the Demise of H. H. Sevajee.

From

H. Forbes, Esq.,

Resident at Tanjore.

To

J. Pycroft, Esq.,

Chief Secy. to Government,

Fort St. George.

Sir,

I have the honor to address the Government on the arrangements to be made, consequent on the death of His late Highness the Maha Rajah Sevajee.

2. The Government are aware that His Highness was the only son of his father the Rajah Surfojee, the adopted son of Tooljajee, who succeeded to the Musnud in 1798, on the deposition of his father's brother Ameer Sing, to whose claims after a lengthened inquiry Surfojee's were considered superior.

3. By a Treaty dated in 1799, the Rajah Surfojee ceded the country of Tanjore to the British Government on certain conditions, to which it is not now necessary to advert, and the Treaty was declared to be formed for the purpose of cementing the friendship and alliance between the Honorable Company and the Rajah—and alliance and friendship which, by the prior Treaty made in 1792 with the Rajah Ameer Sing, were formed between the contracting parties, "their heirs and successors."

4. The Treaty was entered into during the Government of Lord Clive, and throughout the negociation His Lordship spoke of the Rajah "as a Prince," an ally, treating on equal terms with the Company, and in a Memorial addressed to the Honorable Court by Sir William Blackburne when it was proposed to discontinue the Resident's as a separate office, he says that "as the original translator of the Treaty and the sole interpreter between the two Governments during the whole period of its negotiation, he is able to declare that the Rajah often referred, as a tower of defence against subsequent hard constructions of it, to that maxim of the writers on the law of nations which declares that in difference of opinion regarding the construction of articles in treaties of unequal and dependent alliance, or generally in treaties between the strong and the weak, the constructions, favorable to the powerful party, is to be adopted."

5. Although the Rajah of Tanjore by the cession of his country ceased to be of political importance, he has always been treated, not as a pensioner or dependent, but as a Sovereign, Prince; within the Fort of Tanjore, he has had supreme control; on occasions of any high functionary visiting Tanjore, even were it the head of the Government, the Rajah has always received the first visit; the receipt signed by His Highness for the instalment of his Pungjumbissa, have always been worded as being on account of the one-fifth of the revenue of my country; it could have been only as a Sovereign Prince that the Rajah sent ambassadors to be demanded and received tribute from the Danish Government of Tranquebar, equally since, as before the execution of the Treaty and the practice of presenting nazurs to the Rajah on his throne at the Duseerah festival by all the Officers of Government,

European and Native, which obtained up to the accession of the late Rajah, and which was discontinued only because the Government of India prohibited the interchange of presents between the Officers of Government and Native Princes, was in acknowledgment of the Rajah's sovereignty.

6. In considering what should result on the death of the late Rajah, it seems important to keep in mind the matters above referred to, as showing that Surfojee, when ceding the country, did not become a pension dependent, and that the future of the Raj should be settled on grounds other than those that would guide the decision in the case of an ordinary pensioner.

7. The late Rajah Sevajee married twenty wives, but by none of them was a son born to him. His first two marriages were contracted in the life time, and by direction of his father, the third in 1833, the year after his father's death, by his first wife, who died in 1848 : he had two daughters, of whom I shall speak presently : to the second he took a strong aversion, throughout his life he forebore from all associations with her, and she is consequently childless and alone survives him of the three : the third having died childless in 1842.

8. In 1852, in his great anxiety for a son, the Rajah made extraordinary marriages, of which the Government are aware, and *in one day contracted an alliance with seventeen ladies* ; two of these since died, fifteen survived the Rajah, and none have ever had children.

9. Surfojee, the late Rajah's father, being the only adopted son of Tooljajee, who (although he married five wives died without issue) left at his death no collateral heirs, and his son and the late Rajah and five daughters were his own sole descendants—of these five daughters, who were all married, one died childless, one died leaving only one daughter, and one leaving a son and daughter, the latter of whom was the late Rajah's second wife, whom I have said above he always held in aversion, the remaining two daughters of Surfojee are living and have each one son : by the son of the one of the latter of whom, as deputed by the Rajah's widows, were His late Highness' funeral ceremonics performed.

10. I have said above that the late Rajah, though without legitimate sons, left two daughters, of these, one born in 1827, was married in 1837 to Sukkaram Sahib, of the family of the Rajah of Kholapoor, and the other, born in 1846, is still an unmarried child; the older has for some years been a great invalid and suffers from an internal tumour, which is beyond surgical treatment and must cause her death at no very distant day.

11. The Rajah's death was so very sudden and unexpected, that, on the day of its occurrence, although I was several hours in the palace and in communication with the family and the chief Officers of the Durbar, no allusion to a succession was made, all were apparently too much startled at the event that had occurred, and too much occupied by the present necessity of immediate preparation for the funeral to give attention to the more distant future.

12. On the following day, however, when the Officers of the Durbar had met and had consulted with the members of the family, it was decided to urge the claims of the Rajah's younger daughter to succeed, and I was subsequently earnestly besought to submit the claim to the favorable notice of the Government.

13. There appears to be nothing repugnant to Hindu Law in the succession of a daughter to her father, nor are precedents wanting for a Maharatta Ranee reigning, in Chapters CCCCX, CCCCXI, and CCCCXIX of Colebrooke's Digest of Hindu Law, I find the following rules :—

Pathansa.—The effects of one who leaves no male issue go to his brother, &c., &c., &c. The expression of "no male issue" is explained by Mr. Colebrooke to mean leaving no male or female, the last terms being understood.

Vrishapata.—As she (the daughter) becomes owner of her father's estate, although a kinsman be living, so likewise her son is acknowledged to be the heir of the estate left by his mother and maternal grandfather.

Narada.—If there be no son, the daughter is heiress by parity of reason, for she keeps up the progeny, since a son and a daughter both continue the race of their father.

14. The same is contained in the Hindu Law Book, Smriti-chundrika Brahaspaty.

A daughter as well as a son is born limb from limb, now while he lives, can another inherit the property of her father.

Narada.—In the absence of a son, a daughter is the rightful heir, for they both are equally the progenitors of posterity.

Narada.—A son and daughter are equally the progenitors of posterity, and the same views are expressed in the Vignaswaria, Madhania, Varadaragia and Menjookba, but, as this is a point on which the Government will obtain better opinions than mine, I will briefly advert to precedent.

15. Yukajee, the first Mahratta Rajah of Tanjore, had three sons, who each reigned in succession, the third son Tookjee had four sons, and was succeeded by the third Bavah Sahib, as the eldest two were not born in wedlock. Bava Sahib had no children, and, on his death, he was succeeded on the Musnud by his widow Soojan Sahib. I am informed that similar successions took place at the latter end of the last century to the Musnud of Sattara and Kolapoor; but for this I have no record to refer to.

* Tara Sahib, widow of Maharajah Sarabojah of Sattara, and daughter of Sevajee Mohitay Hambeerow.

† Doorgayee Sahib, widow of Maharajah Sumbajee, Rajah of Kolapore, and daughter of Santajee Mohitay Hambecrow.

‡ Teeja Ayee Sahib, widow of the above and daughter of Maharajah Sinday.

16. If the Government can admit the claim of a female to succeed the late Rajah, I am entirely of opinion that the younger daughter of His Highness is the proper person to select. I should despair of any hope of peace, of any end to intrigue, or of any prospect of a satisfactory conduct of affairs, were any one of the Rajah's sixteen widows placed in authority to the exclusion of all the rest, and the state of the health of His Highness's elder daughter entirely precludes her ever attempting to fill a public position.

17. The younger daughter whose claims are now put forward has therefore no rival, her claim is superior to that of a widow, her sister acquiesces in her preference, and as the only eligible descendant of her father, she would naturally become his successor, she is now nine years old, is healthy and intelligent, and, on

one occasion, when I had seen her with her father, she left on me a favorable impression.

18. The Government will decide on the justice of this daughter's claim, and on the policy of maintaining the Raj. In considering the question, they will not lose sight of the manner in which we became possessed of Tanjore—it is not a conquered country, its acquisition never cost the British Government the life of a single soldier, nor the value of a single rupee, the cry of the orphans was never heard, nor was the tear of a widow ever shed, when the rule of the country passed from the Rajah to the hands of our Government. In the fifty years during which we have held possession, we have in round numbers drawn from it a total revenue of no less than twenty crores, or as many millions sterling. Neither Surfojee or Sevajee ever offered the smallest hindrance to our peaceable settlement of the country, or, in any degree, whatever departed from the strictest adherence to the Treaty. Truly it deserves consideration how the Government shall act towards the last descendant of a royal line, to a daughter of those who, when their aid was needed, were always our firm allies.

19. But the matter must be looked into also as it concerns ourselves. In 1827, when yielding to the earnest remonstrance of the Rajah Surfojee against the intended abolition of the Resident's Office, the Governor, Mr. Lushington, recorded a minute, 25th August 1829, in which he spoke of the obligations which should restrain us from any measure affecting our present prosperous relations with the people of the fruitful country of Tanjore, and it is impossible to doubt that the now prosperous condition of the district would be very greatly affected by the sudden withdrawal of a circulation amounting to about eleven lacs a year, so great a diminution of the expenditure within the province must certainly lead to a difficulty in realizing the revenue, it is a small tract of land from which to raise fifty lacs a year, and it cannot be a matter of indifference to the producers whether more than a fifth of the revenue be spent among them or not.

20. If the Government should be disposed to yield to the claim advanced by the family on behalf of the late Rajah's

daughter, I would recommend that she be considered a minor until she attains her eighteenth year, and that in the interim the Resident should be her guardian, and should conduct the administration with the aid of the Surkeel and his Deputy. I should anticipate no difficulty in this, but at the end of the minority affairs would be made over to the Ranee in such a state as with the supervision of the Resident, it would not be difficult for her to maintain. The duties of this office have hitherto been troublesome solely from the character of the Rajah and from a disposition in His Highness amounting almost to a monomania to attempt to do whatever he knew. The Resident would not allow, and to use the whole weight of his authority and influence, to frustrate whatever arrangements might be proposed for the advantage of the Durbar. His opposing influence being removed, the Resident would meet with no obstruction, and although it would certainly take time, and thought, and care, to set straight all that the late Rajah has put in disorder in the twenty-three years he has reigned, and although the right and judicious administration of the finances would entail no light responsibility and thought, I would cheerfully give the trouble, the care and the responsibility. I would cheerfully undertake for the good of the fine provinces, the affairs of which I have the honor to administer and for the sake of the young child in whom it is impossible not to feel an interest.

21. For the future disposal of the Raj I now request the orders of Government.

22. His late Highness died on the 29th of October, and I propose to authorize the Surkeel to pay in full the salaries of all the Durbar servants for that month on the arrival of the monthly remittance.

23. In the possible, I hope not probable, event of the Government deciding against the wishes of the family and the claims of the Rajah's daughter, I request that I may be instructed how I am to proceed regarding the payment of wages for this month, and until some definite arrangement be made for the ultimate settlement of affairs. Upwards of 9,800 persons, all at present on the Mayenlzilatab of the palace as servants and pensioners,

their salaries and pensions varying from 10 annas to 700 Rupees a month, more than 170 relations of the Rajah draw allowance from the Durbar, and the total sum expended in wages, pensions, and allowances, is about 50,000 Rupees. To make a definite report to Government regarding all these servants and dependents will not be the work of a day, and for their treatment in the interim it is necessary that I should receive orders.

24. I enclose a list of His late Highness' immediate family, of his relations, of the line of succession of the Mahratta Rajahs, and a genealogical tree.

TANJORE, *6th November* 1855.

Record No. 5.

No. 17 of 1855.

To

The Honorable the Court of Directors.

HONORED SIRS,

Under date the 9th instant we reported to your Honorable Court the death of His Highness Sevajee, Rajah of Tanjore. We now submit to you our proceedings in reference to that event, and the measures which in our judgment should be taken in consequence of it.

2. In his report of the 6th instant the Resident has addressed us on the arrangements which should be made consequent on the Maharaja's death.

3. Mr. Forbes, after briefly noticing the recent history of the family—the deposition of Ameer Sing and elevation of Surfojee (father of the late Rajah) in 1798, the execution by Surfojee of the Treaty of 1799, the treatment and position of the Rajahs of Tanjore since that event, the marriages and family of the Rajah Seevajee and the descendants of his father Surfojee—proceeds to state (para. 11) that the late Rajah's death being so sudden and unexpected, no allusion to a succession was made on the day of its occurrence, although the Resident was for several

hours in the palace and in communication with the family and the chief Officers of the Durbar. It was not until the following day that those officers having met and consulted with the members of the family decided to urge the claims of the Rajah's younger daughter to succeed.

4. This claim is considered by the Resident in paras. 13 to 19 of his letter. He has advocated it on the grounds that there appears nothing repugnant to Hindu Law in the succession of a daughter to her father, nor are precedents wanting of a Mahratta Ranee reigning. Quotations from Hindu Law books are made in support of the first of these positions, an instance of the second is given in the case of Sujanbee Sahib, who, on the death of her husband Bava Sahib in 1739, succeeded him on the Musnud of Tanjore which she occupied for about a year. On the present occasion a daughter is recommended in preference to any of the widows of the late Rajah. The Resident would despair of any hope of peace, of any end of intrigue or of any prospect of a satisfactory conduct of affairs were any one of the Rajah's widows placed in authority to the exclusion of all the rest. The younger daughter is preferred to the elder sister as the health of the latter (who suffers from internal malady which must cause her death at no very distant day) entirely precludes her ever attempting to fill a public position. The continuance of the Raj itself is advocated by Mr. Forbes, on the score of the nature of the connection between the Tanjore family and the Honorable Company, and of the manner in which the province passed under the authority of the latter, as also of the benefit redounding to the district from the circulation within it of so large a sum as eleven lakhs being the average allowance payable to the Rajah—and of the prejudicial effect upon the condition of the province by its sudden withdrawal. If the claim of the younger daughter to succeed her father be recognized, the Resident advises that she be considered as a minor until she attains her eighteenth year, and that in the interim the Resident should be her guardian and should conduct the administration with the aid of his Surkele and his deputy. No difficulty is anticipated in this, and, at the end of the minority, affairs would be made over to the Rance in such a state, as with the supervision

of the Resident, it would not be difficult for her to maintain. The duties of this office have hitherto been troublesome solely from the character of the Rajah, and from a disposition in His Highness amounting almost to monomania, to attempt to do whatever he knew, the Resident would not allow, and to use the whole weight of his authority to frustrate whatever arrangements might be proposed for the advantage of the Durbar. This opposing influence being removed, the Resident would meet with no obstruction, although it would certainly take thought and time and care to set straight all that the late Rajah has put in disorder in the twenty-three years he has reigned.

5. We have carefully weighed the various arguments put forth in the Resident's letter of which a summary is above given. We have referred also to a Memorandum on the political relations of Tanjore drawn up by the same gentleman last year on the requisition from the Governor-General. We have considered the circumstance that led to the deposition of Ameer Sing and the elevation of Surfojee to the Musnud in 1798 as set forth in Lord Wellesley's Proclamation, and have adverted to the negotiations between the latter and the Madras Government, which led to the execution of the Treaty of the 26th November 1799—as well as to the terms of that instrument itself. We have likewise perused the correspondence on our records connected with the recognition of the late Rajah Seevajee's succession to the Musnud in 1822 during the lifetime of his father, as also with his actual succession on the decease of his parent in 1832.

6. Having given these various papers our most attentive consideration, we have severally recorded our opinion on this important subject in our minutes of the dates noted in the margin, to which we respectfully beg to refer to your humble Court.

12th, 17th, and 18th respectively.

7. It will be observed that our President and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, for reasons given at large in their minutes, are of opinion that the Treaty of 1799 was distinctly personal, and that the suggession of the late Rajah Seevajee in 1832 was an act of grace and favor on the part of the British

Government and in no degree a matter of right on the part of the Rajah himself.

8. Sir Henry Montgomery, on the other hand, is of opinion that the treaty of 1799 though personal in the terms was a modification of that of 1792 which recognized heirs and successors and that it gave the son of the Rajah Surfojee claim to succession which the Government could not with due regard to its obligations fail to recognize—and that if the Rajah of Tanjore, now deceased, had left a legitimate son or brother, the claim of either to succeed to the Musnud could not properly be denied.

9. But although our sentiments thus differ as to the force of the Treaty of 1799 and the validity of the claims under it of any legitimate male heir of the Rajah had there been such a person, in our views as to the Policy which ought to be followed under the circumstances actually existing we are entirely agreed.

10. We are decidedly and unanimously of opinion that there being no male heir there is no legitimate claimant to the Raj—that the Raj has consequently become extinct and should be so declared, and that the adoption of the course recommended by the Resident is not demanded by considerations of justice and is at variance with every principle of sound policy.

Although we cannot advise the continuance of the Raj, we would recommend that the family be treated with liberality and consideration.

We would propose that the Fort of Tanjore be kept up for the residence, and a handsome allowance made to each of the widows and to the daughters.

The jurisdiction of the British Courts should however extend over all the Fort.

11. With this general expression of our views on this important question and soliciting your attention to our reasons exhibited in detail in our minutes, we beg to forward copies of all the papers necessary for the due consideration of the subject and to request the favor of your early orders.

12. We have to add that this question engaged the attention of the most noble the Governor-General on his late visit to Madras, but as all the papers had not been collected, and the matter was not fully ripe for decision, His Lordship abstained from any distinct expression of opinion. He however requested that the subject with our sentiments thereon might be reported to your Honourable Court by the next Mail, and that copies should also be sent to him at Calcutta by the next Suez Steamer. We understand from Dalhousie that it was his intention to address you at an early date of the receipt of these papers.

13. We have likewise to state that being desirous of maintaining the existing state of things at Tanjore as closely as possible until your Honourable Court's decision shall be known, we have directed the Resident to continue the payment of all customary wages, pensions, and allowances to the family servants and dependents of the late Rajah, but on the clear understanding that their continuance has been ordered only pending the intimation of the pleasures of your Honourable Court, and is not to be regarded as affording any indication of the Policy, eventually to be adopted under your instruction.

We have, &c.

22nd November 1855.

Record No. 6.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 17 of 1856.

Our Governor-General of India in Council.

Para 1.—We now reply to your letter in the Foreign Department, dated the 22nd January (No. 12) 1856, and to the Political letters from the Madras Government, dated the 9th November (No. 15) and the 22nd November (No. 17) 1856, reporting

the death of Sevajee, the titular Rajah of Tanjore, and the opinions of your Government and of the Madras Government respecting the consequence which should follow that event.

2. The Rajah died without leaving a son by birth or adoption. He was himself the only son of his father, the Rajah Surfojee, with whom the treaty of 1799 was concluded, and Surfojee was only the adopted son of his predecessor, Rajah Tooljajee, consequently there cannot be any male claimant to the dignity claiming through a male. But the Rajah has left two daughters, the younger of whom (the elder being disqualified by ill-health), Mr. Forbes, the Resident, proposed to the Madras Government to recognize as a successor to the titular dignity.

3. By no law or usage, however, has the daughter of a Hindu Rajah any right of succession to the Raj, and it is entirely out of the question that we should create such a right for the sole purpose of perpetuating a titular principality at a great cost to the public revenue.

4. We agree in the unanimous opinion of your Government and the Government of Madras, that the dignity of Rajah of Tanjore is extinct.

5. It only remains to express our cordial approbation of the intention you express of treating the widows, daughters, and dependants, of the late Rajah with kindness and liberality, we shall doubtless receive at an early period from you as from the Madras Government a report of the arrangements made for carrying this intention into effect.

6. The Resident was very properly directed to continue all existing allowances until he could report fully on them to Government, but to inform the recipients that Government were not to be considered as pledged to their continuance.

We are, your affectionate friends,

D.

London, 16*th April* 1856.

Record No. 7.

No. 3292.

From

G. F. Edmonstone, Esq,

Secretary to the Government of India.

To

T. Pycroft, Esq.,

Chief Secretary to Government,

Fort. St. George.

Dated Fort William, 11*th June* 1856,

Foreign Department.

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor-General in Council, to forward for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, the accompanying copy of a despatch from the Court of Directors, dated 16th April last, No. 17, relative to providing for the family of the late Rajah of Tanjore, and to request that, when the Madras Government shall have matured their arrangements for the maintenance of the family of the deceased Rajah, they will report thereupon to this Government for final orders.

I have the honor to be,

&c., &c., &c.,

(Signed) G. F. Edmonstone,

Secretary to the Government of India.

(A True Copy.)

William A. Searle,

Registrar.

Record No. 8.

No. 200.

From

T. PYCROFT, ESQ.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of
Fort. St. George.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India
in the Foreign Department.

Dated the 10*th July* 1856,
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Sir,

I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th ultimo, forwarding copy of a despatch 16th April 1856, Political Department, No. 17, from the Honourable the Court of Directors on the subject of the Raj of Tanjore, and requesting that, when this Government have matured their arrangements for the maintenance of the family of the late Rajah, they will report thereupon for the final orders of the Supreme Government.

2. In reply I am desired to bring to your notice that, as will be perceived from a Memo. given in the Resident's letter of the 6th November forwarded to the Government of India on the 22nd idem, the members of the family of the deceased Rajah amount to 22 in number, the chief being

The Queen Dowager, 16 wives, 2 daughters, 2 sisters, 6 natural sons, 11 natural daughters.

3. The "relations" are entered in a list in the same letter at 178 with aggregate monthly allowance of Rupees 4,664-8-0 or Rupees 55,974 per annum.

4. In the report itself the Resident Mr. Forbes says, "upwards of 9,800 persons are at present on the Moyenzabitha (roll) of the Palace as servants and pensioners, their salaries and pensions varying from 10 annas to 700 rupees a month,

more than 170 relations of the Rajah, draw allowances from the Durbar, and the total sum expended in wages, pensions, and allowances, is about 50,000 rupees bi-monthly.

5. On the demise of the Rajah the Government, 22nd November 1855, directed the Resident to continue until further orders the payment of all customary pensions, allowances or wages to the family, dependents, or servants of the late Prince, but that the recipients were clearly to understand that these disbursements had been authorized only temporarily and until the decision of the Honourable Court upon the whole question was received. The Honourable Court in their recent despatch, para. 6, have approved of these orders.

6. The investigation of the numerous claims to provision of some kind that will be advanced by the parties referred to in the preceding paras., will of itself be no light task. There are, however, several other important subjects for inquiry in connection with the late Rajah besides these claims.

7. *First.*—There are some valuable chuttrums and choultries endowed with lands yielding an annual revenue of about a lakh and twenty thousand Rupees. There are large balances outstanding against the holders of these lands, who, aware of the Rajah's objection to seek the aid of the Company's Courts to enforce his just right, have wilfully withheld their rents. In some cases the lands have been misappropriated or fraudulently alienated, and there are numerous idlers and hangers on the Palace servants who hold useless offices in these institutions. The choultry establishments should be remodelled and freed from all abuses, and the property belonging to them devoted to the purposes for which it was originally granted.

8. *Second.*—Claims on the part of pagodas to payments of allowances have to be investigated and some scheme laid down in respect to the continuance of these endowments, in some cases either by money, grants, or by assignments of lands.

9. *Third.*—There are some valuable villages belonging to the Raj in different parts of the Province, some retained by Surfojee,

when the country was assumed by the British Government, and some subsequently acquired by purchase. These should be examined and any claims to or liens upon them considered.

10. *Fourth.*—Some debts due by the late Rajah to private parties or claims on behalf of members of family still remain to be settled.

11. *Fifth.*—Arrangements must be made of the abolition of the Rajah's Courts, and for the disposal of suits already on the file, as well as for the establishment of a Company's Court (probably that of a District Munsiff) in the Fort of Tanjore, which will henceforth be under the jurisdiction of the Civil and Criminal Courts of the Zillah.

12. *Sixth.*—There are in the Palace State jewels of great value, a valuable Library of Oriental works, and an armoury which have fallen into Government with the Raj.

13. It appears to this Government that the several matters above recited cannot be duly inquired into except by an officer specially deputed for the purpose. The present Acting Collector has been but lately appointed, he is new to the District, he had no experience in the intrigues of a Mahratta Court, and even were his acquaintances with them greater, the onerous duties devolving on him as Collector and Magistrate and one of the heaviest districts in this Presidency, would leave him no leisure for such a task.

14. Under these considerations, I am directed to suggest that some officer should be specially sent as Commissioner to Tanjore, should be placed in charge of the Residency, and be directed to investigate and report upon the various important questions above enumerated, and any others that may hereafter occur to the Government as demanding inquiry in connection with the general subject.

15. If this be approved, the Government proposed to select for the duty, as the officer best qualified for it, Mr. H. Forbes, at present acting as 3rd Member of the Board of Revenue, who has, for several years, been Resident at Tanjore; as well as Col-

lector and Magistrate of the district, and who possesses an intimate acquaintance with the officers of the Durbar. The Government would propose that Mr. Forbes, whilst employed in the service, should draw, in addition to his present allowance as acting third Member of the Board of Revenue, Rupees 500 per mensem, being the rate usually allowed to a Member of the Board on deputation. As his absence from Madras would not exceed three or four months, and the Senior Member of the Board, Mr. Goldingham, will rejoin it immediately, his commission in the Northern Circars having been closed, it would not be necessary to supply Mr. Forbes' place at the Board for the period of his employment at Tanjore, and no expense would consequently be incurred on that account.

16. As the allowances, which since the death of the Rajah have been paid to his family and dependents, will continue to be disbursed until some settlement be effected, I have to solicit that this Government may be favored with the pleasure of the Government of India on the proposed deputation of Mr. H. Forbes, at as early a date as may be convenient.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

T. Pycroft,

Chief Secretary.

(A True Copy)

William A. Searle,

Registrar.

Fort St. George, *the* 10*th July* 1856.

No. 373.

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 21*st October* 1856.

Read the following letter from the Commissioner of Tanjore.

(Here enter 18th October 1856, No. 10).

The Government quite approve of the Commissioner's proceedings as reported in the above letter.

2. They regret the dilatoriness of the Surkeel, but trust that the very proper letter addressed by the Commissioner to that Officer will induce him to use his utmost exertions to meet with despatch the requisition made upon him by the Acting Resident.

(True Extract.)

T. PYCROFT,

To *Chief Secretary.*

H. FORBES, ESQ.,

Commissioner of Tanjore.

(A true Copy.)

WILLIAM A. SEARLE,

Registrar.

Record No. 9.

No. 4644.

From

G. F. EDMONSTONE, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Government of India.

To

T. PYCROFT, ESQ.,

Chief Secy. to the Govt. of Fort St. George.

Dated FORT WILLIAM, *the* 18*th September* 1856.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches noted in the margin and in reply to observe as follows:—

No. 200, 10th July 1856; No. 261, 22nd August 1856.

2. The Government of Madras are anxious to receive authority to act in the matter of the Tanjore Family, and your letter dated

the 22nd ultimo, reporting recent proceedings at Tanjore, makes it desirable that this should be given forthwith.

3. In your previous letter, dated the 10th July last, the Government of Madras have sufficiently shown that the subjects which call for investigation and settlement are so numerous and important as to require to be dealt with by an Officer appointed for that special purpose. The selection of Mr. H. Forbes, late Resident at Tanjore, for this duty, is a very proper one and is accordingly sanctioned by his Lordship in Council.

4. Of the various questions requiring consideration, those connected with the "Choultries" and lands on which balances of Revenue are due, the claims for Pagodas, the rights over villages retained by the Rajah, when the administration of the country was assumed by the British Government, and the abolition of the Rajah's Courts, the Governor-General in Council leaves for disposal by the Government of Madras.

5. But the mode in which it may be proposed to deal with the Rajah's debts, and with the State Jewels, Library, and Armoury, should be reported to the Government of India before any measures are taken, as also the apportionment of pensions, or gratuities to the family and dependents of the Rajah. Upon the last point it will be necessary to lay down the rules by which the Government of Madras should be guided.

6. A year ago the Honourable Court, in addressing the Government of India upon the subject of re-adjustment of stipends paid to the Mysore family, required a scheme should be devised which should provide for the gradual discontinuance of the existing system (in which there was nothing fixed or certain as regards the future) on the future absorption of the descendants of Tippoo Sultan among the mass of the British subjects in India.

7. The Government of India therefore framed certain rules applicable to the particular condition of this family, which transmitted to the Honourable Court for sanction. It was at the same time proposed that the principal of these rules should, with the necessary adaptations in each case, be applied to all political stipendiaries in India having no hereditary rights to their stipends.

8. The relations whom the Rajah of Tanjore has left are in the position, they are without any rights of inheritance, and in determining the conditions with which pensions to be apportioned to them for their own support, and for the support of those dependents upon them, the principle above-mentioned, that is, the gradual but certain termination of the pension, should be kept in view.

9. This is perfectly compatible with the already declared intention of the Government, from which there can be no departure, to treat the widows, daughters, and dependents of the late Rajah with kindness and liberality.

10. The claimants upon the consideration of Government in the present instance are desirable as being of three classes.

1*st.*—The members of the Rajah's family, ninety-two in number, and including the Queen Dowager, sixteen wives, two daughters, two sisters, six natural sons, and eleven natural daughters.

2*nd.*—The relations numbering 178, and drawing allowances to the amount of 4,664 Rupees a month.

11. In dealing with the first of these classes the Governor-General in Council requests that the Government of Madras will provide that no person of the Rajah's family shall be placed in a worse condition, so far as stipend can secure this, than heretofore; and if there should be members of it to whom individually no allowance in money has hitherto been allotted, and, if it should be judged desirable to assign pensions to these, that the sums should be fixed in the spirit of the above rule.

12. It is next to be considered to what extent the pensions granted to those, who are described as members of the family of the Rajah, shall be heritable. The Madras Government has given no clue to the nature of the relationship of those ninety-two members to the head of the house, except as regards the thirty-eight individuals enumerated in the despatch. There remains, therefore, fifty-four undescribed. It is probable that very many of these are not so closely connected with the family tree as to give

their descendants any title to a continued provision from the public Revenue, but upon this point no opinion can be pronounced until further information has been received.

13. As regards the near relations of the late Rajah who have been specially described, the Governor-General in Council requests that the following rules be adopted, and declared, to the grantee as that which will govern the transmission of each pension, upon the death of the person upon whom it is now to be settled, viz., that upon the demise of a stipendiary, if a man, it shall be for the Government of Madras to consider whether any, and what descendants or relations of the deceased were supported by the stipend, and to assign to show reduced allowances not exceeding in the aggregate a moiety of that which was enjoyed by the first recipient. Further, that, upon the death of any person thus admitted to stipendiary, his descendants and relations shall be dealt with in like manner, the whole of them receiving in the aggregate not more than a moiety of the stipend, which had been fixed upon him, and that upon the death of any of those to whom this last and further reduced rate of pension shall be awarded, no claim shall be recognized in his descendants to a continuance of an allowance or any scale whatever, and lastly, that in the case of women of the Rajah's family to whom stipends may now be granted, it shall be for the Government of Madras to inquire, upon the death of any of them, whether any, and what, relations of the deceased were supported from the stipend, and to give to such as may be judged worthy of considerations life pensions, the aggregate of which shall not exceed a moiety of that which was accorded to the deceased, but that the transmission shall stop here; and that there shall be no second inheritance of any portion of the stipend.

14. By these rules the object recently attained in the case of the descendants of Tippoo Sultan, security for the cessation of the system of pensions will be ensured prospectively as regards the family of Tanjore. The heirs and relations of Tanjore pensioners will know exactly what to expect and will see before them the time when they must take their place amongst the peo-

ple of India, and rely upon their own exertions. No change will come unforeseen upon any one. The warning will extend through three generations making itself sensibly felt upon each succession, and serving, it may be hoped, to dispel gradually the habits of improvident dependence and vicious idleness, which have been found inseparable from stipendiary royalty, when maintained indefinitely.

15. The second class, consisting of relations, 178 in number, is not further described in your letter of the 10th July last No. 200, but it may be assumed that it does not include many who can claim to share largely in the fortunes of the family, seeing that the stipend hitherto enjoyed by each individual scarcely exceeds on an average of 26 Rupees a month.

16. It is not probable that amongst these, any cases will arise which will not fully meet by the grant of a pension for a single life; and in some it may be acceptable that this should be commuted for a gratuity. But upon this point again it is necessary that the Government of Madras should report further before any decision can be taken.

17. There remains the class of servants and pensioners amounting to about 9,800. The Resident has been directed to continue, until further orders, the payment of all customary pensions or salaries to the family, dependents and servants of the late Rajah; but with the understanding that these disbursements are authorized only temporarily.

18. As regards pensions it will probably be found that most of these must, in the observance of the spirit in which the Government of India desire to deal with all the claimants, be maintained for the lives of the recipients, and that the salaries of the Chief Officers of the Rajah's household should be continued to them also as life pensions.

19. For the servants and retainers some general rules should be laid down, by which, according to length of service, a pension or gratuity proportionate to their pay shall be awarded to them.

The following scale would be suitable.

Under 7 years' service a gratuity of 3 month's pay.				
From 7 to 15	,,	,,	6	,,
,, 15 to 20	,,	,,	9	,,
,, 20 to 25	,,	,,	12	,,
,, 25 to 35	,,	a pension of one-third pay.		
Above 35	,,	,,	of half pay	

20. The Governor-General in Council directs me to request that the Government of Madras will have the goodness to express their opinion upon the proposals above made in regard to the mode of dealing with the various claimants. The proposed amount of all pensions or allowances should be reported for the sanction of the Supreme Government.

I have the honor to be,

* * * *

G. F. EDMONSTONE,

Secy. to the Govt. of India.

FORT WILLIAM, *the* 28*th Sept.* 1856.

(A true Copy.)

WILLIAM A. SEARLE,

Registrar.

Record No. 10.

No. 13.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 311.

Extracts from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 25*th September* 1856.

Read the following letter from the Secretary to the Government of India.

(Here enter 8th September 1856.)

Resolved that the Copy of the above letter of that from the Madras Government, 10th July, to which it is a reply, and of the Honourable Court's Despatch to the Government of India, No. 17 of 1856, Political Department, be furnished to Mr. Henry Forbes.

2. Under the authority now conveyed from the Supreme Government, the Right Honorable the Governor in Council proceed to appoint Mr. Forbes to be Commissioner for the purpose of inquiring into, and reporting upon, the various questions demanding settlement in connection with the extinction of the Raj of Tanjore.

3. These subjects may be divided into two classes, viz., those which have been left for the disposal of this Government, and those which are to be reported to the Govenment of India before any measures are taken.

Under the first head fall—

First.—The chuttrums endowed by the Rajah of Tanjore, the arrangements to be made for their future administration and for placing them upon an improved footing, as well as for the recovery of the rents due to them and of lands gradually alienated for them.

Second.—Allowances to pagodas by assignment of the late Rajah or his ancestors, their nature whether terminable with the Raj or proper to be continued as perpetual endowments, and in the latter case whether by grants of money or of land.

Third.—The state of the landed property, villages, or detached lands retained by Surfojee on the cession of the Tanjore country in 1799 or subsequently acquired by him, or by the late Rajah, the claims to or liens upon them.

4. The abolition of the Rajah's Courts, and provision to be made for the dispensation of Civil and Criminal justice by Courts of the Honorable Company of some of the classes obtaining in their territory.

5. On all these questions it will be for the Commissioner to report to Government after due inquiry, and the Government will then pass on each such final orders as may appear to be called for.

6. The subject reserved for the ultimate decision of the Supreme Government are—

First.—The debts of the late Rajah.

Second.—The State property, viz., jewels, library, armoury, &c

Third.—Stipends, pensions or gratuities to the family, servants, and dependants of the late Rajah.

7. On these matters it will be for Mr. Forbes to report in detail, and to supply all the information that may be necessary to assist the Government of India in their settlement.

8. Lists of course be taken of all the jewels, belonging to the Raj and passsing with it to the Honourable Company, as also of the State armour and weapons, and catalogue of the library. Due means will be adopted for the safe and careful custody of these valuables, until the pleasure of the Government of India be known regarding them.

9. The principles that are to be followed for determining the amount and terms of the stipends, pensions, gratuities which are to be conferred upon the Tanjore family and the servants and dependants of the late Rajah are very clearly laid down in Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter of the 8th instant, paras 6—18. Mr. Forbes will, in conformity with those principles, submit lists showing the individuals entitled in his opinion to pensions, renewable on the conditions specified in para 13—to life pensions, and to gratuities, the amount of pension or gratuity, that he would recommend, and his reason in each case.

10. As none of these stipends, pensions or gratuities can be given until they have been first submitted to the Government of India and received their sanction, and as the existing provision for the family and dependents must continue until the arrangements approved by the Gevernment of India can take effect, it is desirable that this part of his duty should, concurrently with the due security of the State valuables, engage Mr. Forbes' earliest attention and form the subject of his first reports.

11. It was originally designed by the Government as expressed in their letter to the Government of India, 10th July last, para 10, that the officer deputed on this commission should be placed in charge of the Residency. Under present circumstances, however, and adverting to the number and gratuity of the special questions that have to be reported on by the Commissioner, it seems to the Government preferable that his duty should be con-

fined to the peculiar objects of his Mission, and that the routine and current business of the Residency should be conducted by the present Acting Resident, who should also continue the inquiry into such cases as may be referred to him by Government of the nature of those that have lately been sent to him. It is however to be clearly understood that the services of the Acting Resident himself and of his whole establishment are to be, in the most unreserved manner, at the disposal of the Commissioner to be available in the mode that he may judge most advisable towards facilitating the purpose of his deputation. The Residency mansion will be at Mr. Forbes' entire disposal, and he will, of course, have the freest access to the records.

The Government feel that it would be quite unnecessary for them to impress upon Mr. Cherry, the permanent necessity of his co-operating cheerfully and zealously with the Commissioner in furtherance of the important duties confided to him, and of meeting all his requisitions promptly and to their fullest extent.

12. A further point remains to be noticed. The family are to have stipends, but something must also be settled as to their domicile, and the order and discipline to be maintained among them. Thus, if all the ladies remain in the Fort of Tanjore, is the present anomalous state of things to continue? Are some of the ladies to retain their customs of privacy and others to admit any visitors they please?

Mr. Forbes, after ascertaining the wishes of the different members of the family, will be pleased to report on the places of residence proposed for them, the retinue to be allowed them and other arrangements.

In his communications with them, it would be well that Mr. Forbes should follow the course laid by Government for the Acting Resident, viz., that they should be made by means of memoranda or lists of questions drafted first by the Commissioner in English, and so placed on record, and translations into Mahratta, for despatch to the Palace, made by some competent person who should countersign them and be held responsible for their cor-

Ext. Min. Cons. dated 20th Septr. 1856, No. 305.

rectness. The answers also in Mahratta besides being signed by the parties giving them whose signatures should be verified by them in person before the Commissioner should be countersigned by the actual Amanuensis who should be held responsible that the replies are really those taken down by him at the dictation of the parties. These precautions may not be necessary in all cases, and a discretion is left to the Commissioner on this head, but they should always be employed when there is reason to apprehend equivocation or intrigue.

Mr. Forbes will likewise report whether any guard should be allowed the family on the Rajah's troops being disbanded.

13. Mr. Forbes will not make any formal announcement of the orders of the Government of India, but he will possess the Durbar generally with the purport of those instructions, informing them that it has been decided by the Home Authorities that the Raj of Tanjore has become extinct on the death without male heirs of the late Rajah Sevajee, but that all liberality and consideration will be shown to the members of the family, the servants and dependents. He will apprize them of the general principles which are to be followed in disposing of claims to stipends, pensions or gratuities, but without pledging Government to any particular mode of dealing with any individual case. He will also, should such caution appear called for, warn them of the consequences that will certainly ensue from any factious opposition to the policy that has been decided on in the case of the Tanjore Raj.

14. Mr. Forbes will require some servants and the Government will leave it to him to select his own establishment, who should, as far as possible, be persons unconnected with the Tanjore District. It has occurred to Government that he might with advantage avail himself of the services of the able and respectable Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, Narasinga Row, but they will not fetter him in the selection. He will submit the names and number of his servants and the salaries, travelling allowances, that he would propose for them, which, when approved by Government will be drawn in monthly Contingent Bills.

15. Mr. Forbes, during his employment as Commisisoner, will draw a special allowance of Rupees 500 per mensem in addition

to his pay and deputation allowance as acting Member of the Board of Revenue.

(A True Extract.)

T. Pycroft,
Chief Secretary.

To

H. Forbes, Esq.

(A True Copy.)

William A. Searle,
Registrar.

Record No. 11.

No. 10.

Tanjore Commissioner's Office,
18*th October* 1856.

From

H. Forbes, Esq.,
Commissioner of Tanjore.

To

T. Pycroft, Esq.,
Chief Secy. to Govt., Fort St. George.

Sir,

I have the honor to report to you my arrival at Tanjore on the 13th instant. On the 15th I requested the member of the Durbar, and the three nephews* of His Highness the late Rajah as the male representatives of the family, to meet me at the Residency, when, in accordance with the instructions contained in the 13th paragraph of the Extract from the Minutes of Consultation of the 25th ultimo, No. 311, I communicated to them generally the purport of the orders of the Government of India, announced to them the decision of the Home Authorities regarding the Raj of Tanjore, informing them at the same time

* Ramachendra Bow Sooray, Pretal Roodra Mannaroo Jugley, Manapa Motay.

that liberality and consideration would be shown to the family and retainers, and putting them in possession of the general principles on which claims to stipends and gratuities would be disposed of, but without pledging the Government to any particular mode of dealing with individual cases.

2. Prior information had evidently reached the Durbar of the extinction of the Raj, but they appear to have clung to the hope, that a succession might still be possible, until the official announcement made to them by me, showed that that hope was vain. Much sorrow was expressed, and much grief was shown, but all at once submitted to the authority of Government and placed themselves into hands.

3. I took no further steps to make the announcement public, but it had become so in great measure from the fact of my arrival and the news communicated to the Durbar soon spread throughout the palace. No demonstration of the public feeling was made, and I had no reason to require any aid to the ordinary Police of the town.

4. On the 29th ultimo, I requested the Officiating Resident to order the preparation of certain lists of the family and retainers of the Rajah, and certain statements of lands, and other state property of the Raj, which I should require to have before me, before I could enter on the duty on which I am engaged. I am aware that Mr. Cherry at once issued the required orders, and that he continued to press upon the surkeel the necessity of expedition. On my arrival, however, I found that nothing had been prepared and although I have not failed since the propriety of despatch, I know that up to this time nothing has been even commenced. This arises partly from dilatory habits of business, which have at all times made it difficult to obtain any accounts from the palace, partly from a natural and perhaps unconscious unwillingness on the part of the late Rajah's servants to take an active part in the downfall of their master's family, and partly from the surkeel referring to the ladies for permission to prepare the accounts required, which permission has been always withheld. But whatever may have been the cause, the

result was the same, and the duties of my commission were at a stand from procrastination and delay, a policy at which the Mahrattas are perhaps of all people the most accomplished adepts.

5. It was evident to me that I should make no advance until affairs were in my own hands, and that something more tangible than a verbal announcement was needed, to rouse the Rajah's servants to a realization of the fact that the Raj had passed to the British Government. I had also to carry out that part of my instructions which directed me to adopt measures for the safe and careful custody of the jewels, clothes, State armour, and library. These valuables still remained in the care of the Rajah's servants, and without intending in the least degree even to insinuate that they were not safe, I considered that if I were to be in any way responsible for them, it was right that they should be under my seal, and in my keeping.

Extract—Minutes Consultation, 25th Sept. 1856, No. 311, para. 8.

6. With the view, therefore, of securing this property, and of obtaining such access to it, and to the records, as should put it in my power to carry on my duty, I addressed the surkeel, the letter of which I enclose a copy, and requested the Officiating Resident to accompany me to the palace, and to place a guard over the State property; advantage was taken of the 25th Regiment halting at Tanjore to obtain the required party, and this morning, without any alarm, disturbance or excitement, sentries were placed over the jewel house, the wardrobe, the arsenal, the place where the silver howdahs and coaches are kept, and over a magazine said to be full of ammunition; the magazine is situated along way from the palace, and I proposed immediately to destroy the powder, and to remove the guard. The detachment was halted outside the palace, the sentries four in all, were alone taken inside, and the relief is at the outer gate. Orders have been given to the men to permit ingress and egress as usual, and to confine themselves solely to the duty of guarding the doors over which they have been severally placed.

7. Now that I am able to make for myself the lists and statements which I could not procure from the Surkeel, I hope my duties will advance.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
H. Forbes,
Commissioner.

Tanjore, 18*th October* 1856.

To

The Chief Secretary to Government.

(A true Copy.)
William A. Searle,
Registrar.

Record No. 12.

No. 373.

The Government quite approve of the Commissioner's proceedings as reported in the above letter.

They regret the dilatoriness of the Surkeel, but trust that the very proper letter addressed by the Commissioner to that officer will induce him to use his utmost exertions to meet with despatch the requisitions made upon him.

Fort St. George, 21*st October* 1856.

Record No. 13.

From

H. Forbes, Esq.,
Commissioner of Tanjore.

To

R. R. Kamaksheeammah Bayee Sahiba,
Tanjore.

Madam,

Although I have been many years in Tanjore, and have had the pleasure of knowing many members of your family, I have

never yet had the honour of paying my respects to you, but knowing the privacy and retirement in which it has always been your pleasure to live, I consider it right still to avoid trespassing on your time, which I can well believe is more pleasantly employed in the avocations peculiar to your sex, than in discussing public affairs.

Having been directed by the Government to place in safe and careful keeping the great mass of valuable property which belonged to the Tanjore Raj, until the pleasure of the Government of India shall be known, I yesterday informed the Surkeel of my intention to proceed to the palace to-day, and to place a guard over the property. I directed the Surkeel very carefully to explain to all the members of the family that my proceedings had reference solely to the safe custody of the property, and that it was not intended, in the smallest degree, to exhibit distress of any members of the family, or in any way to interfere with their usual movements and pursuits.

I hope that this communication was duly made to you, that you have been under no needless misapprehension of what passed and are satisfied with the precautions taken to ensure the safety of so much that is of value.

I hope that you will believe that in the duty on which I am engaged, it will be my constant care to consult the wishes of yourself and of the members of your family as far as may be consistent with my instructions, and that I shall adopt no measure without first considering how it can be carried out in the manner most agreeable to you.

I have the honor to be,
Madam,
Your obedient servant,
H. Forbes,
Commissioner.

Tanjore, 18*th October* 1856.

(A true Copy.)
William A. Searle,
Registrar.

Record No. 14.

No. 21.

RESIDENCY, TANJORE, 17*th October* 1856.

From

H. FORBES, ESQ.,

Commissioner.

To

NEELAKUNTA RAO, ANNUNDA RAO, JUDVAH,

Officiating Surkeel.

SIR,

On the 20th of September, I requested the Resident to obtain from you certain lists and statements which I required for the performance of the duty on which I am now engaged. I am aware that Mr. Cherry immediately communicated my wishes to you, and informed you of the propriety of despatch.

2. Nearly three weeks have now passed and not only has no single paper reached me, but I have good reason to believe that their preparation has not been commenced.

3. The duty on which I am now engaged I am performing under the peremptory orders of Government, and it is one that brooks no delay, it is, therefore, necessary that I should at once adopt measures to prepare myself the accounts which I require, and which I look for in vain from you.

4. When on the 15th instant I communicated to you, to the Durbar generally, and the nephews of the late Rajah, the decision at which the Government had arrived with reference to the Tanjore Raj, and the general principles on which I was instructed to act in resuming the Raj, and making provision for the family and retainers, I informed you that while all private property would be scrupulously respected, the public property of the State wanted to pass to the British Government. That property the Government ordered me to place in safe and careful keeping.

5. To enable me to do this, and also to place it in my power, to obtain all the information I require, about the State property, whether in land, jewels, or otherwise, it is my intention to assume possession in the name of the British Government of all the late Rajah's villages and gardens including endowments to choultries and pagodas of the public property now in the Fort of Tanjore, and of all the records connected with the Raj, but, while it is necessary that I should do this, I have to assure you, and to beg that you will assure others, that a careful investigation will be made into all claims that may be advanced by institutions, or individuals, to any part of the property, and that all to which a claim may be substantiated will be restored to its proper owners.

6. I have requested the Collector to resume for the time all the villages and gardens, to give notice to all the village servants to produce their accounts before me, and to warn the mirasidars and renters to pay their kists only to the Government officers. I have to request that similar directions may be issued from your office.

7. I propose to take charge of the public property within the Fort early to-morrow morning, and to place it in charge of a detachment of British troops, and I request that you will meet me at the East gate of the Fort at half past five o'clock in company with the officer of the Tashakhana, the arsenal, the wardrobe department, the library, the magazine, the Rajah's silver howdahs, coaches, and palanquins and of the public records.

8. You will publicly call upon each officer to give up truly and faithfully, all that is within his charge, whenever it may be, and will warn each that the displeasure of the British Government will be shown to any, who may hereafter be found in any way to have evaded this demand.

9. To yourself personally I feel sure that such a warning is needless, and I know that you are well convinced that you can in no better way serve the Rajah's family, than by fidelity to the British Government.

10. It is only further necessary that I should request that you will take every measure to prevent any needless alarm or disquietude to the family, from the measure, it is necessary that I should take in assuming possession of the public property, you will inform them in my name that the British troops are not introduced into the Fort from any feeling of distrust towards any member of the family, that they will be particularly ordered to interfere in no way whatever with the movements or pursuits of any of the inmates of the palace, and that they will be employed solely and entirely as guards over valuable property, as you are yourself aware is the universal practice in all places under the British Government.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

H. FORBES,

Commissioner.

(A True Copy.)

WILLIAM A. SEARLE,

Registrar.

Record No. 15.

No. 13.

Judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the appeal of the East India Company *v.* Kamatchee Baye Sahiba from the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras, delivered the 27th day of July 1859.

PRESENT.

Lord Kingsdown, Dean of the Arches, Sir Edward Ryan, Sir John Taylor Coleridge, and Sir Lawrence Peel.

This is an appeal from a decree of the Equity side of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras, by which it was declared that the respondent, the plaintiff in the suit below, as the eldest widow of Sevajee, the Rajah of Tanjore, who had died intestate, was entitled to inherit and possess, as his heir and legal representative, his private particular estate and effects, real and personal,

left by him at the time of his death, subject to the payment and satisfaction thereout, of the present debts, if any, of the said Sevajee; and to any legal claims and demands that might exist against such private and particular estate and effects, and the Court declared that the defendants, the East India Company, were trustees for the plaintiff, for, and in respect of, the private and particular estate and effects, real and personal, left by the said Sevajee at the time of his death, and possessed by them, their officers, servants, and agents, as in the Bill mentioned.

The decree proceeded to direct various accounts and inquiries founded upon these declarations.

In the very able argument addressed to us at the Bar, many objections were made on the appellant council to this decree, but the main point taken, and that on which their lordships think that the case must be decided, was this—that the East India Company, as trustees for the crown, and under certain restrictions, are empowered to act as a Sovereign State in transactions with other Sovereign States of India, that the Rajah of Tanjore was an independent Sovereign in India, that, on his death in the year 1855, the East India Company, in the exercise of their sovereign power, thought fit from motives of state to seize the Rajah of Tanjore, and the whole of the property the subject of this suit, and did seize accordingly, and that over an act so done, whether rightfully or wrongfully, no Municipal Court has any jurisdiction. The general principle of Law was not, as indeed it could not, with any color of reason, be disputed. The transactions of independent States between each other are governed by other laws than those which Municipal Courts could administer, such Courts have neither the means of deciding what is right, nor the power of enforcing any decision which they make.

But it was contended, on the part of the respondent, that this case did not fall within the principle, for the following reasons:—

1. Because, as it was said, the East India Company did not stand in the position of an independent sovereign, that such powers of sovereignty as were exercised on behalf of the Com-

pany were vested, not in the Company but in the Governor-General and Council who are protected by Legislative enactments for what they may do in that character.

2. The seizure in this case did not take place by the exercise of a sovereign power against another independent power, but was a mere succession by an asserted legal title to property, alleged to have lapsed to the Company—and

3. That there is a distinction between the public and private property of the Rajah, and the Company never intended to exercise their sovereign powers, as to the latter whatever they might do with respect to the former; that the Company, therefore, are in possession of property by the unauthorized act of their officers, for which no protection can be claimed on the grounds which would protect the public property from the jurisdiction of the Court.

On the first point their lordships are unable to discover any room for doubt. The careful and able review of several Charters and Acts of Parliament bearing upon the subject which they had the advantages of hearing at the Bar, has satisfied them that the Law, as it stood in the year 1839, is accurately stated in the following passage in the Judgment of Chief Justice Tindal in case of Gibson *versus* The East India Company, 5 Beng. N. C. 273, in which after referring to various legislative enactments, he observes that from these

"It is manifest that the East India Company have been invested with powers and privileges of a two-fold nature, perfectly distinct from each other, viz., powers to carry on a trade, as merchants, subject only to the prerogative of the Crown, to be exercised by the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India power to acquire and retain and govern territory to raise and maintain armed forces by sea and land, and to make peace or war with the native powers of India."

That acts done in the execution of Sovereign powers were not subject to the control of the Municipal Courts, either of India or Great Britain, was sufficiently established by the cases of the Nabob of Arcot. The East India Company in the Court of

Chancery in the year 1793, and the Advocate-General *versus* Syed Ally before the Privy Council in 1827.

The subsequent Statute of 3 and 4 W. M., IV., C. 85, in no degree diminishes the authority of the East India Company to exercise on behalf of the crown of Great Britain, and subject to the contest thereby, provided, these delegated powers of sovereignty.

The next question is—What is the real character of the act done in this case? Was it a seizure by arbitrary power on behalf of the crown of Great Britain of the dominions and property of a neighbouring state, an act not affecting to justify itself on grounds of Municipal Law? Or was it, in whole or in part, a possession taken by the crown under colour of legal title of the property of the late Rajah of Tanjore, in trust, for those who, by law, might be entitled to it on the death of the last possessor?

If it were the latter, the defence set up has no foundation.

It is extremely difficult to discover in these papers any ground of legal right, on the part of the East India Company or of the crown of Great Britain to the possession of this Raj, or any part of the property of the Rajah on his death, and, indeed, the seizure was denounced by the Attorney-General, who, from circumstances explained to us at the hearing, appeared as counsel for the respondents, and not in his official character as appellants, as a most violent and unjustifiable measure. The Rajah was an independent sovereign of Territories undoubtedly minute, and bound by treaties to a powerful neighbour, which left him practically little power of free action, but he did not hold his territory, such as it was, as a fief of the British Crown, or of the East India Company, nor does there appear to have been any pretence for claiming it, on the death of the Rajah without a son, by any legal title either as an escheat or as *bona vantia*. It should seem, therefore, that the possession could hardly have taken upon any such grounds.

Accordingly the appellants in their answers, page 4, paragraph 3, allege that on the death of the late Rajah "it was determined, as an act of State by the defendants and the Bri-

tish Government," that the Raj and dignity of Rajah of Tanjore was extinct, and that the state of Tanjore had thereupon lapsed to the defendants in trust for Her Majesty, and it was thereupon also determined by the defendants, as of state and Government, that the whole dominions and sovereignty of the State of Tanjore, together with the property belonging thereto, should be assumed by the defendants in trust, for Her Majesty the Queen, and should become part of the British territories and dominions in India in trust for Her Majesty.

They then allege that the whole of the property which they have seized, has been seized by virtue of their Sovereign rights on behalf of Her Majesty, and insist that the Court has no jurisdiction to inquire in the circumstances of the seizure, or its justice with respect to the whole or any part of the seizure.

The facts as they appear in the evidence are these;—On November 1855 the Rajah died. The Government of Madras, within which Presidency Tanjore is situated, communicated the fact of his death to the Governor-General of India, and this fact, with the views of the Government of Madras and of the Governor-General in Council, as to the steps which ought to be taken upon his death in regard to his dominion and property was communicated to the Court of Directors in England.

The letters in which these views were communicated are not found among the papers before us, but it appears from the letter of the Court of Directors, 16th April 1856, page 60, that these Governments were of opinion that the dignity of the Rajah of Tanjore was extinct, and that they had taken possession, or were about to take possession, of the dominions and property of the Rajah, and intended to deal with them in such manner as appeared to them to be just.

The answer of the Court of Directors is to the following effect:—

After adverting to a suggestion which had been to recognize one of the daughters of the deceased Rajah as his successor, they say—

3. By no law or usage, however, has the daughter of a Hindu Rajah any right of succession to the Raj, and it is entirely out of

the question that we should create such a right for the sole purpose of perpetuating a titular principality at a great cost to the public revenue.

4. We agree in the unanimous opinion of your Government, and the Government of Madras, that the dignity of Rajah of Tanjore is extinct.

5. It only remains to express our cordial approbation of the intentions you express of treating the widows, daughters, and dependents of the late Rajah with kindness and liberality. We shall, doubtless, receive at an early period, from you or from the Madras Government, a report of the arrangements made for carrying these intentions into effect.

6. The Resident was very properly directed to continue all existing allowances until he could report fully on them to Government, but to inform the recipients that Government were not to be considered as pledged to their continuance.

It seems obvious from this letter that the Company intended to take possession of the dominions and property of the Rajah, as absolute lords and owners of it, and to treat any claims upon it, of his widows, and relations and dependents, not as a right to be dealt with upon legal principles, but as appeals to the consideration and liberality of the Company.

The further proceedings were of the same character. On the 10th July 1856, the Government of Madras wrote to the Governor-General in Council, and after giving an account of different portions of property of the late Rajah, and pointing out various difficulties and questions which must arise out of it, they suggested that some person should be specially sent as a Commissioner to Tanjore, who should be directed to investigate and report upon the various important questions above enumerated, and any others that may hereafter occur, to this Government, as demanding enquiry in connection with the general subject.

"By a letter of the 8th September 1856, the Governor-General in Council approves of appointing a Commissioner, and of the selection of Mr. Forbes for the purpose. He points out certain matters;—amongst others, the abolition of the Rajah's Courts;

which he leaves to the disposal of the Government of Madras. But the mode in which it may be proposed to deal with the Rajah's debts, and with the state jewels, library, and armoury, should be reported to the Governor-General of India before any measures are taken, as also the appointment of pensions and gratuities to the family, and dependents of the Rajah. Upon the last point, it will be necessary to lay down rules by which the Government of Madras should be guided."

Mr. Forbes was accordingly appointed to discharge this duty, and written instructions for that purpose were given to him by the Government of Madras, on the 25th of September 1856. He was directed not to make any general announcement of the orders of the Government of India, but to furnish the Durbar generally with the purport of those instructions, informing them that it has been decided by the Home authorities that the Raj of Tanjore had become extinct, but that all liberality would be shown to the members of the family, servants and dependents. He was also, should such caution appear called for, to warn them of the consequences that would certainly ensue from any factious opposition to the Policy that had been decided on in the case of the Tanjore Raj.—Appendix 80.

In what manner Mr. Forbes executed the powers conferred upon him, appears in his evidence and by the documents proved in the cause.

On the 29th September, he caused an order to be made on the Surkeel, an officer of the late Rajah, directing him to make out a list of the property belonging to the Raj. No attention having been paid to this order, Mr. Forbes soon afterwards went himself to Tanjore, and took up his abode at the Residency, and on the 17th October 1856, sent a letter to the Surkeel, set out at page 85 of the Appendix, in which he informs him of his intention to take possession of the public property of the State for the British Government and to place it in safe keeping. He informs the Surkeel that he intends to take charge of the public property within the Fort, early the next morning, and to place it in charge of a detachment of the British

Troops, and he requests, that the Surkeel will meet him at the East Gate of the Fort at half past 5 o'clock, in company with the Murdsheins of the Teshackera, the arsenal, and other various departments.

On the following morning, accordingly, taking advantage, as he says, of the presence of the 25th Regiment of Infantry, he goes to the palace and takes possession of the property which is found in it. He has it placed in rooms, sealed with his seal, and stations sentries at the different doors.

It is clear from Mr. Forbes' report to the Madras Government, of what took place on the occasion, that though no resistance was offered by the family of the Rajah, or inhabitants of the Fort, to the seizure of the Raj, and of the palace and property of the Rajah, it was regarded on both sides as a mere act of power not resisted, because resistance would have been vain. "Much sorrow," he says, "was expressed, and much grief was shown, but all submitted at once to the authority of the Government and placed themselves in its hands."

It is by these acts of Mr. Forbes that the East India Company is in possession of whatever property it holds now claimed by the respondent. The acts of Mr. Forbes were appointed by the Government of Madras by a minute dated 21st October 1856, and they are adopted and ratified by the appellants in their answer in this suit.

What property of the Rajah was within the authority given to Mr. Forbes, and what may be the consequence of any seizure in excess of that authority, we will consider under the next head, but that the seizure was an exercise of sovereign power effected at the arbitrary discretion of the Company, by the aid of Military force, can hardly admit of doubt.

But then it is contended that there is a distinction between the public and private property of a Hindu Sovereign, and that although during his life if he be an absolute Monarch, he may dispose of all alike, yet on his death some portions of his property termed his private property, will go to one set of heirs, and the Raj with that portion of the property which is called public will go to the succeeding Rajah.

It is very probable that this may be so, the general rule of Hindu inheritance is partibility, the succession of one heir, as in the case of a Raj, is the exception. But, assuming this, if the Company, in the exercise of their sovereign power, have thought fit to seize the whole property of the late Rajah, private as well as public, does that circumstance give any jurisdiction over their acts to the Court of Madras. If the Court cannot inquire into the act at all because it is an act of State, can it inquire into any part of it, or afford a relief on the ground that the sovereign power has been exercised to an extent which Municipal law will not sanction?

It is said, however, that it was not the intention of the East India Company that the private property of the Rajah should be the subject of seizure, and it is observed in the judgment of the Court below, that the letter of Mr. Forbes to the Surkeel of the 17th October 1856, shows that he knew there was private property amongst that about to be seized, and that he expressly states that all property to which a claim can be established shall be restored to its owner.

But it appears to their lordships that in this passage the Chief Justice has not quite accurately collected the meaning of Mr. Forbes' letter, the distinction there made between private and public property seems to apply, not to property of the Rajah, but to property which might be seized by the Officers as in the possession of, or apparently belonging to, the Rajah, while, in fact, it belonged to, or was subject to, the claims of other persons. All claims which might be advanced to any part of the property seized by institutions or individuals were to be carefully investigated, and all to which a claim might be substantiated would be restored to the owner.

But whatever may be the meaning of this letter, it affords no argument in favor of the judgment of the Court, but rather an argument against it. It shows that the Government intended to seize all the property which actually was seized, whether public or private, subject to our assurance, that all which upon investigation should be found, to have been improperly seized, would be restored. But even with respect to property not belonging to

the Rajah, it is difficult to suppose that the Government intended to give a legal right of redress to those who might think themselves wronged, and to submit the conduct of their Officers, in the execution of a political measure, to the judgment of a legal tribunal. They intended only to declare the course which a sense of justice and humanity would induce them to adopt.

With respect to the property of the Rajah, whether public or private, it is clear that the Government intended to seize the whole, for the purpose which they had in view required the application of the whole. They declared their intention to make provision for the payment of his debts, for the proper maintenance of his widows, his daughters, his relations, and dependents; but they intended to do this according to their own notions of what was just and reasonable, and not according to any rules of law to be enforced against them by their own Courts.

In the letter already referred to of the 8th September 185 6 from the Secretary of the Government of India, to the Government of Madras, it is distinctly stated: "the relations whom the Rajah of Tanjore has left are in this position: they are without any rights of inheritance," and it then proceeds to enumerate, those relations who are thus without any right of inheritance, and mentions as the first amongst them the Queen Dowager, the respondent in the appeal; and it proceeds to speak of all those relations as claimants upon the consideration of the Government, and to describe in what manner those claims are to be met. How is it possible, in the face of this declaration, to hold that it was the intention of the Government to recognize the right of inheritance of the respondent, and to exclude from seizure, and to subject to process of law, any portion of the property of the deceased Sovereign? If there had been any doubts upon the original intention of the Government, it has clearly ratified and adopted the acts of its agent, which, according to the principle of the decision in Buron *vs.* Denonan, is equivalent to a previous authority.

The result in their lordship's opinion, is that the property now claimed by the respondent has been seized by the British Government acting as a sovereign power, through its delegate, the

East India Company, and that the act so done, with its consequences, is an act of State over which the Supreme Court of Madras has no jurisdiction.

Of the propriety or justice of that act, neither the Court below nor the Judicial Committee, have the means of forming, or the right of expressing, if they had formed, any opinion. It may have been just or unjust, politic or impolitic, beneficial or injurious, taken as a whole, to those whose interests are affected. These are considerations into which their lordships cannot enter. It is sufficient to say that, even if a wrong has been done, it is a wrong for which no Municipal Court of Justice can afford a remedy.

They must advise Her Majesty to reverse the decree complained of, and to dismiss the plaintiff's bill; but they will recommend that no costs should be given of the proceedings either in the Court below or in this appeal.

Record No. 16.

No. 20.

ORDER THEREON, *5th December* 1859.

No. 705.

The Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council conclude their Judgment on the appeal of the East India Company *versus* Kamatchee Baye Sahiba, as follows:—

" The result in their lordships' opinion is that the property " now claimed by the respondent has been seized by the British " Government acting as a Sovereign power, through its delegate " the East India Company, and that the act so done, with its con- " sequences, is an act of State over which the Supreme Court of " Madras has no jurisdiction."

2. The effect of his judgment has been to reverse the decision passed by the Supreme Court of Madras, cancel their

injunction, and to leave this Government at liberty, without further interference on their part, to carry out those arrangements and inquiries, under the orders of the Government of India, they were conducting when they were checked by the interposition of the Supreme Court.

3. The chief questions now to be dealt with are—

1*st.*—The disposal of the property of the late Rajah, movable and immovable.

2*nd.*—The settlement of the Rajah's debts.

3*rd.*—The assignment of pensions to the several members of his family and to his relations and connections, and the measures to be adopted for their future comfort and accommodation.

4. In respect to the first of the above questions, much discussion has taken place about what ought to be considered public or private property. This seems to proceed upon a mistaken view of the nature of the case. The Raj has merged in the Government of India. Every thing which belonged to the late Rajah at the time of his death, therefore, now belongs by right to the Government. If previously to his decease, he made a *bona fide* alienation of any property acquired out of his savings, that property has passed into the condition of private property. Otherwise, all that he left would have descended to his heir, if he had one, and not having had one, it had lapsed to the paramount authority representing the general public. The Government have to pay the late Rajah's debts, and to provide for his numerous relations and dependents, as Ultimus Haeres.

5. The movable property of the Rajah, as the jewels, library, armoury, &c., were being examined and catalogued by the Commissioner Mr. Forbes; and much progress had been made in the work when it was stopped under the injunction issued by the Supreme Court. The apartments comprising several descriptions of the property have since been closed. They now will be opened, and a careful examination and report made of their contents with a comparison with the lists already taken. This property was also entered in the Schedules which were appended to the Government answer to the Bill filed by Kamatchee Baye Sahiba. The copies of these Schedules, now with the Govern-

ment Solicitor, will be made over to the gentleman who is to be deputed to Tanjore as Commissioner for the settlement of this and other questions. Any property not already taken into account will be duly examined and lists made of it.

6. While all such articles as were exclusively State property should be held at the disposal of the Government, the most liberal consideration should be given to any claim that may be made on behalf of the Ranies or others connected with the late Rajah. It will be the duty of the Commissioner to make these orders generally known, and to submit to Government all applications which may consequently be made to him, with his own opinion upon them.

7. With regard to the landed property of the late Prince, the Government have before them two reports, one a preliminary report by Mr. Forbes, under date the 26th November 1856, and a second, a more detailed one, from Mr. H. D. Phillips of the 11th July 1857. They have likewise the opinion* of their Advocate General, to whom the above reports were referred in consequence of a claim to several villages and gardens preferred by the Avu Sahiba.

*30th January 1858, in letter from Govt. Solicitor 1st February 1858.

8. The bulk of this landed property was retained by the Rajah, contrary to the provisions of the Treaty by which the Province was ceded to the East India Company in 1799, but according to the views already expressed by Government, it matters not in what manner property came into the possession of the Raj. Whatever actually belonged to the Rajah at the time of his death is included in the escheat, and now belongs to the Government.

9. Fourteen villages are claimed on behalf of the mother of the late Rajah, as having been granted to her by her late husband Rajah Surfojee. Such a grant is undoubtedly extant, but if her possession was ever more than nominal, it altogether ceased in 1827, after which the Rajah dealt with the property entirely as his own. The Advocate General is therefore rightly of opinion that these villages must be considered as belonging to the Raj. Mr. Phillips, while he admits that the Dowager Ranee has no just

claim, proposes that she should have the enjoyment of these villages during the remainder of her life. Government do not concur in this. The aged lady should have a pension allowed her, sufficiently liberal to enable her to spend the remainder of her days with all possible ease and comfort, but more than this is not required, and it is not desirable that she should have the management of villages. There are three villages, the Mirasee rights in which were originally purchased by the widow of Toolsajee the adoptive father of Surfojee. They descended to the late mother of the Rajah's only surviving daughter, to whom they should be made over, together with the arrears which have accumulated since her father's death. Alienations from the landed property, which are of the nature of Inam, should be dealt with hereafter by the Inam Commissioner under the rules which have been prescribed for the settlement of property of this description.

10. The remaining lands, consisting of 34 villages, 115 gardens, and 52 padugais, and one mubtar of a village, will, as recommended by Mr. Phillips, be henceforth regarded as belonging to the State. The arrears which have accrued in a long series of years, and are represented to be quite irrecoverable, will be written off, and any amount that there may be in deposit carried to the credit of the general revenue.

Debts.

11. The only mention that has been made of the Rajah's debts occurs in a letter from Mr. Forbes of the 15th January 1857, No. 102. The information given is only of a general character. These debts must now be accurately ascertained in view to their early liquidation. Experience shows that more than ordinary care should be taken to shut out fictitious claims.

12. The subject of pensions to the immediate family and Rajah of the Raj has been reported on by Mr. Phillips under date the 8th June 1857. He submitted three lists.

A.—A list of the immediate members of the family of Sevajee, late Rajah of Tanjore, with the money, grain, &c. allowances as paid at the date of the Rajah's demise, 29th October 1855. There

are 103 pensioners, and the aggregate amount of the stipends proposed for them is 3,18,965 per annum, with Rs. 6,000 additional to the Rajah's daughter after her marriage.

B.—List of the relatives of His late Highness. This includes 164 persons for pension, at an aggregate charge of Rs. 3,362-8-0 monthly, or 40,350 Rs. yearly.

C.—List of the relatives of Rajah Sevajee, who demised subsequently to the death of the Rajah himself. There are 10, and the total amount which it is proposed to assign to their heirs is Rs. 399½ per mensem, or Rs. 4,794 per annum. Thus the aggregate amount of all the pensions entered in the three lists will be Rs. 3,70,109 yearly.

13. The Government observe that principles which are to govern the assignment of Pensions to the members of the family of the late Rajah of Tanjore and to his relations and their continuance, when they are continued on lapse, are fully laid down in Secretary Edmondstone's letter of the 8th September 1856, paras. 10 and 14. These principles are generally, that no person of the Rajah's family be placed in a worse condition so far as stipend can secure this, than heretofore, that the Pensions to the chief members of the family only shall be heritable—that in the case of a man that may pass on for two generations, a moiety lapsing on each succession; in the case of a woman, they are to descend with a like reduction for one generation only. The case of those relations who are not nearly allied to the late Rajah was considered to be fully met by the grant of a Pension for a single life which might be commuted into a gratuity.

14. The persons who are included by Mr. Phillips in his list A of the immediate family are.

1. The mother of the late Rajah.
2. His senior widow.
3. His 15 junior widows.
4. His daughter.
5. His 2 elder sisters.
6. His niece, her husband and children.

7. His son-in-law.
8. Three nephews and their families.
9. The late Rajah Sevajee's Seraglio, in number 59 persons, including apparently 6 natural sons, and 11 natural daughters of the Rajah.
10. The Rajah Surfojee's Seraglio, 18 persons.
11. The descendants 4 in number of Takujee Sahib, a former Rajah of Tanjore.

15. The claims of the first 8 of the above to heritable pensions may be admitted and the same advantage may be conceded to the natural sons and daughters of the late Rajah, but it cannot be extended to the members of Sevajee's or of his father Surfojee's Seraglio, nor to persons claiming through a former Rajah. The allowances to all these as well as to all included in list B will be for life only. It should be distinctly explained to them that their pensions will on no account be continued on lapse wholly or in part; subject to this condition the several proposals made by Mr. Phillips in the Appendix to his Report touching the provision for the Seraglios of the Rajahs Sevajee and Surfojee are approved.

16. As respect those borne in list C the relationship of none of the deceased parties is such as to warrant the transmission of any portion of their allowances to their heirs, but considering the short time that they survived the Rajah, and if the heirs named have been led to look for the continuance of a part of the pension, the Government will allow so much to be granted as will prevent their being in actual distress, and the same indulgence may be shown as regards the heirs of any others who may have demised since the date of the report, and before the final settlement of those pensions, but it is to be clearly understood, that this will not be done in any other cases when the pensions have been once settled. The settlement will be final, and all payments except to the immediate members already enumerated, cease absolutely on lapse.

17. In his Appendix Mr. Phillips has noticed certain considerations which have influenced him in determining the rates of Pensions to the immediate family, and has made some suggestions in respect to their treatment.

18. It is proposed that an allowance of 700 Rupees a month be granted to Kamatchee Baye Sahiba, the senior widow, and to each of the 11 junior widows, who sided with her, and that the 4 who adhered to Government, should, as a reward, have each 100 Rupees a month more.

19. Reference has been made by Government to the authorities in Bombay to ascertain whether under the Mahratta customs the senior widow should not have a large provision made for her than junior widows. From the replies which have been received, it appears, that although in some localities, the senior widow by priority of nuptials does receive more than the junior ones, yet that the rule is not universal, and that in fact there is no general rule on the point, nevertheless considering all the circumstances of the case the Government think that the stipend to be assigned to Kamatchee Baye Sahiba should be larger than those which are to be allotted to the junior widows. They would fix it at Rupees 1,000 per mensem.

20. The Government would not be disposed to make any distinction between those widows who sided with the senior widows, and those who took no part in the opposition. All should be treated alike, and draw, subject to the general instruction to be subsequently given in paragraph 24, Rs. 800 per mensem.

21. The Government, however, quite agree with the Commissioner, that inducement should be held out to the junior widows to return to the Mahratta country, and that, for that end, the stipend to be assigned them should be enhanced to Rs. 100 per mensem in the event of their returning to their Native province, that their travelling expenses should be paid—a fitting escort provided, and the sum of 500 Rupees given to each of them for the purchase of a house.

22. Sukkaram, the late Rajah's son-in-law, ought not to be subjected to any deduction of his stipend, on account of his inheriting his late wife's settlement and the Rajah's only surviving legitimate daughter should be allowed an additional (6,000) six thousand Rupees a year on her marriage as proposed by Mr. Phillips.

23. It is stated by Mr. Phillips that the stipends borne in these lists have been fixed strictly on the principles prescribed by the Supreme Government. The value of the allowances, as exhibited in the appropriate columns of the statements, comprises the amounts in ready money allotted to the members of his family and relatives by the late Rajah: and the estimated worth of the contributions in clothes and grains together with that of certain other privileges under which they received supplies from certain Departments of the Palace. The aggregate of these sums has formed the basis on which he has fixed the stipend now proposed for continuance to them individually.

24. The Pensions once fixed will be in full of every personal claim, no establishment will be kept up for any one, and the old system of procuring supplies through the Collector, if any vestige of it remains, will come to an end. Any additional allowance should be made which may be required to compensate for the loss of these advantages; and the agent should continue to protect the interest of the ladies and assist them by his advice. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of the data upon which Mr. Phillips has calculated the pensions proposed by him for the several classes of claimants; but on the principle above indicated, some modifications may be required in the cases of particular members of the immediate family, and any proposals to that effect will be readily considered by Government;—the pensions to the relatives, &c., are approved and should be given at once. The Government would be glad to receive the opinion of the Commissioner as to the arrangements which should hereafter be made for the disbursement and check of these pensions as well as of those paid to the three minor establishments.

25. It remains to determine by what agency the settlement of these important questions is to be accomplished. It is evident that it cannot be imposed upon the Collector in addition to his own many and heavy duties. Under these circumstances the Government have resolved to depute to Tanjore as Commissioner, Mr. H. D. Phillips, Puisne Judge of the Court of Sudr Foujdari Adalut, who has already acted in that capacity, and has an intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the family and of the Dur-

bar, and with the various questions discussed in these proceedings, and the Minute recorded by the Honorable the President will be furnished to Mr. Phillips.

26. Mr. Phillips will exercise full control over the Palace establishment and Palace arrangements, internal and external. He will state what establishment, if any, he will require to aid him in the performance of his duties beyond that now at Tanjore, and will suggest to Government any arrangements which he may deem calculated to facilitate his operations. He will draw whilst employed as Commissioner a deputation allowance of Rupees 500 a month in full of all personal expenses.

27. The Collector and Agent at Tanjore will place at Mr. Phillips' disposal the Tanjore Residence, will afford the services of any of his establishment whom he may require, and will assist him in every way in the execution of the important business committed to him.

28. Mr. Phillips will report from time to time for the information of Government what progress he is making in the duties of the Commission.

29. The Government would further wish Mr. Phillips to ascertain and report whether suitable accommodation could be provided at Tanjore for the Huzur Cutcherry, Court House, Treasury, &c., in the event of its being thought desirable to fix that station as the Collector's Head Quarters and Station of the Zillah Court.

Record No. 17.

Extract from the Proceedings of Government, dated 21*st August* 1862, *No.* 336.

The estate will therefore be made over to the senior widow who will have the management and control of the property, and it will be her duty to provide in a suitable manner for the participation and enjoyment of the estate in question by the other widows her co-heirs. On the death of the last surviving widow, the daughter of the late Rajah, or failing her, the next heir of the Rajah, if any, will inherit the property.

The Governor in Council directs that the Government Agent at Tanjore will communicate this decision to the widows and daughters of the late Rajah, and will take steps to place the senior widow in possession of the property, both real and personal, impressing upon her the responsibility which will attach to her both in regard to her conduct towards her co-heirs and the security of the property, she will of course be required to give a receipt for the whole of the personal property on being placed in possession of it.

In supersession of the orders conveyed in paragraphs 9 and 10 of the Proceedings of Government, under date the 17th May last, the Governor in Council directs that the Government Agent will ascertain the wishes of the family through their representative the senior widow, in regard to the Library and Menagerie. The Government have no objection to the Library being retained at Tanjore, if the family desire it, if not, the books must be sent down to Madras for the purpose of being valued, and their value in money paid to the family. Such of them as may be of value will be placed in the Library of the Madras Literary Society. The family will also have the option of retaining the animals in the Menagerie. If they do not wish to retain them such as are worth keeping will be sent to the People's Park, and the rest will be destroyed.

On consideration of public security, the Governor in Council deems it necessary to direct that the arms or the greater part of them should be removed from Tanjore and deposited in a safe place. They will be sent to the Commissary of Ordnance at Trichinopoly by whom they will be valued and deposited in the Arsenal under instructions which will be issued in the Military Department, and their value will be paid to the family. The Agent, however, will ascertain whether among the arms there are any which the family wish to retain as family relics and of such he will make over to them a limited number.

(True Extract.)

(Signed) T. PYCROFT,
Chief Secretary.

(Signed) G. LEE MORRIS,
Acting Govt. Agent.

Record No. 18.

To

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

With reference to your despatch, dated the 11th March, No. 4, of 1861, acknowledging the receipt of your several letters relating to the affairs of Tanjore, we have now the honor to report to you the proceedings taken by us to the present date for the disposal of the property of the late Rajah, and for the arrangement generally of the affairs of the family consequent on the instructions of the Government of India conveyed in their letters of the 19th February and 23rd June last, recorded in our Proceedings of the 17th May and 21st August 1862.

2. It will be seen from our Proceedings of the latter date that, under the opinion given by the junior Hindu Law Officer, in which we concurred, and which was in accordance with the principles of Hindu Law as sanctioned by several decisions of the Sudr Court, and with the evidence adduced for and decision passed by the Supreme Court in the Suit instituted by Kamatchee Baye Sahiba, we have resolved to make over the estate of the late Rajah to his senior widow, who will have the management and control of the property, and whose duty it will be to provide in a suitable manner for the participative enjoyment of the estate by the other widows her co-heirs. On the death of the last surviving widow, the daughter of the late Rajah, or failing her, the next heir of the Rajah, if any, will inherit the property.

3. We have directed the Government Agent at Tanjore to communicate this decision to the widows and daughters of the late Rajah and to take steps for placing the senior widow in possession of the property, both real and personal, including the whole of the Villages, Gardens and Lands which have been relinquished in favor of the Rajah's heirs, impressing upon her the responsibility which will attach to her both in regard to her conduct towards her co-heirs and for the security of the property. From the property ordered to be delivered to the senior widow, we have retained certain jewels, which, in our opinion, constitut-

ed the Ragalia and were strictly to be regarded as State property. These articles are described in our Proceedings of the 3rd instant.

4. We also directed the Government Agent to ascertain the wishes of the family, through their representative the senior widow, in regard to the Library and Menagerie, and to intimate to them that we had no objection to the Library being retained at Tanjore if they desire it, if not we desired that the Books should be sent down to Madras for the purpose of being valued, and their proceeds in money paid to the family, such of them as might be of value being placed in the Library of the Madras Literary Society. We also allowed the family the option of retaining the animals in the Menagerie and desired that if they did not wish to retain them such as are worth keeping should be sent to the People's Park at Madras and the rest destroyed.

5. On consideration of public security we deemed it necessary that the articles in the Armoury or the greater part of them should be removed from Tanjore and deposited in a safe place. We accordingly directed them to be sent to the Commissary of Ordnance at Trichinopoly by whom they would be valued and deposited in the Arsenal, and their value paid for the uses of the family. The Agent, however, was requested to ascertain whether among the arms there were any which the family would wish to retain as family relics and of such to make over to them a limited number.

6. It will be seen that the Government of India are opposed to the formation of the Tanjore family fund proposed by Sir C. Trevelyan, they have sanctioned the remainder of the Rajah's debts and also the pensions allotted by this Government to the family dependents and servants of the late Prince, and have decided that the sum of Rupees 35,000 advanced for the marriage of the Rajah's daughter should not be reclaimed.

7. The surviving daughter of the late Rajah has addressed us on the subject of her claim to the Raj of Tanjore and also to such part of the property as belonged to her late mother. We informed the princess in reference to the first claim that the decision of the late Honorable Court of Directors and of Her Ma-

jesty's Government relative to the extinction of the Raj was formally promulgated by the Commissioner Mr. H. Forbes in October 1856; and that this Government was not at liberty to re-open the question. In regard to the second claim we observed that it had been decided in accordance with the provision of the Hindu Law that the estate of the late Rajah should be made over to the senior widow to be enjoyed jointly by her and the other widows her co-heirs, and that on the death of the last surviving widow the daughter of the Rajah or failing her the next heirs if any would inherit the property.

8. Adverting to para. 5 of the Government Agent's letter of the 6th June last recorded in our proceedings of the 4th July, we beg to be favoured with your instructions on the recommendations submitted in our despatch of the 18th of August, No. 33 of 1860, for granting for the marriage of the illegitimate children of the late Rajah such sums as would be usual according to Mahratta custom in such cases.

We have, &c.,

26th September 1862.

Record No. 19.

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letters noted in the margin, reporting the proceedings taken for the arrangement of the affairs of the Tanjore family, consequent on the demise of the Rajah and the extinction of the Raj.

2. The letter of the 25th February refers to instructions issued by the Government of India on the 8th September 1856. Under these instructions the Government of Madras was authorized.

1*st.*—To appoint a special officer to enquire into and to settle the affairs of the late Rajah.

2nd.—To dispose of all questions connected with the "Choultries" and lands on which balances of revenue were due, the claims for Pagodas, the rights over villages retained by the Rajah when the administration of the country was assumed by the British Government, and the abolition of the Rajah's Courts.

3rd.—To report on the mode in which it was proposed, to deal with the Rajah's debts, with the State jewels, library and armoury.

4th.—To apportion pensions or gratuities to the family and dependents of the Rajah in accordance with the following general rules.

3. The whole of the claimants, to consideration, were divided into three classes, first, the immediate members of the Rajah's family, 92 in number, second, most distinct relations amounting to 178, third, servants and pensioners of whom then were 9,800.

4. In regard to the first class, it was ordered that no person should be placed in a worse position than he or she had previously been in, and that further information should be furnished regarding the degree of relationship of 54. In respect to the remaining 38 whose relationship had been described, it was ruled that the stipends should be to this extent hereditary, that on the demise of the first grantee, if a male, half his stipend should go to her heirs, and a moiety of that reduced stipend to their descendants, after which, it would cease. When the relative in the first degree was a female, only a life pension to such as might be proved to have been dependent on her was to be given.

5. In regard to the 2nd class, no rules were laid down and further information was also called for, but it was assumed as "not probable that amongst these any cases will arise which will not be fully met by the grant of a pension for a single life, and in some it may be acceptable that this should be commuted to a gratuity."

6. In regard to the 3rd class, pensioners who had already received life pensions were to have them continued for life, and servants were to receive pensions on a fixed scale according to the length of their service.

7. In respect to all classes, it was directed that the proposed amount of all pensions and allowances should be reported for the sanction of the Supreme Government, but this order was subsequently modified in a letter dated the 10th October 1856, which dispensed with report for sanction in the case of pension to be granted to persons of the 3rd class, and in that of any pensions which are not to "last beyond the life of the grantee." Reports were still to be sent for sanction on claims of the 1st and 2nd classes—when finally settled.

8. In the letter of the 25th February the Madras Government report that they have carried out the first of the whole instructions and so much of the second as relates to the settlement of the Choultries and Pagodas, and that the abolition of the Rajah's Courts had been reported in 1858. In regard to the land and villages held by the late Rajah, it had been decided by the Madras Government on the 5th December 1859; that the bulk of this landed property should be treated as belonging to the State. But in the Proceedings of the 25th February 1860 some of the Members of Council (Sir P. Grant and Mr. Marcheal) advocate a revision of that order, and propose that this landed property should be treated as the private property of the late Rajah; and that its value should be divided among the Rajah's heirs in accordance with the provisions of the Hindu Law.

9. In the matter of the third instruction, the enquiries directed to be made were not on the 25th February completed, but a general opinion is expressed that the Rajah's debts should be discharged from the general revenue of the country, and that all his personal property—not strictly State property—should be appropriated to the use of his family. Sir C. Trevelyan was further of opinion, that together with a sum of Rs. 1,10,000, which was in the Rajah's Treasury at the time of his death, the value of such articles as could not be divided among the members of the family should be formed into a reserve fund, to be called the "Tanjore Family Fund" which should be available to meet incidental claims not foreseen at the time of the original settlement.

10. In subsequent communications the information called for in the third of the instructions has been furnished.

11. Letter No. 292, dated the 5th May, contains a catalogue of the Armoury of the late Rajah. Sir C. Trevelyan recommends that the most interesting and characteristic arms should be placed in a Museum to be established in the "Little Fort" of Tanjore, which it was contemplated would be converted into a little garden, and that the ordinary arms should be broken up. Sir P. Grant and Mr. Marcheal think that the only arms which could be considered State property were two State Swords, and that the rest should be sold and the proceeds carried to the credit of the Rajah's Estate.

12. Letter No. 606 dated the 12th October reports on the debts of the late Rajah. The total number of claims was 3,957 of which 3,730 were claims for sums below Rs. 50, and 227 for lower amounts. The total amount of these claims was Rupees 9,71,684. The total amount awarded was Rupees 1,86,332, of which Rs. 50 and Rs. 1,62,935 was for claims above 50. The Madras Government have themselves authorized the payment at once of all awards of less than Rs. 50, and afterwards sanctioned other payments up to Rs. 150 each. There still remains to be paid Rs. 1,52,336-9-6½, for which disbursement the sanction of the Government of India is solicited. The above amounts are irrespective of a sum of 1,01,857-0-10 which was in deposit in the Rajah's Treasury at the time of the Rajah's death, out of this amount Rs. 77,324-2-10 have been paid to creditors, Rupees 12,712-2-6 have been carried to the public account, and Rs. 10,029-1-5½ remain in deposit.

13. In their letter, dated the 17th October, No. 620, the Madras Government report arrangements which they have sanctioned connected with the Library, Menagerie, Hospital buildings, and Palace establishments of the late Rajah. It is proposed that the books and some of the animals shall be retained for the public building which Sir C. Trevelyan wished to establish at Tanjore. If this is agreed to, two establishments will have to be entertained or retained rather, for they have already

been sanctioned temporarily by the Madras Government at the cost, for the Library, of Rupees 28 per month, and for the Menagerie, Rupees 17 besides the cost of the food of the animals.

14. Sanction is also called for on the same letter to the following establishments, viz.

1st.—Rupees 369 to be paid to a Palace establishment which it has been found necessary to keep up, as the mother and the widow of the late Rajah still decline to receive the money allowances assigned to them. Their wants and comforts are provided for within the limit of the allowances they would receive.

2nd.—Rupees 230 for Hospital establishment for the Raj Hospital which is kept up as a Dispensary.

15. There remains to be noticed what has been done towards carrying out the fourth of the instructions, viz., that regarding the apportionment of pension and gratuities.

16. In the letter of the 25th February the Madras Government report that, under the authority vested in them, pensions to the extent of Rupees 146,664 per annum have been assigned to the late Rajah's servants, besides gratuities. Pensions have also been allotted to 103 members of the Rajah's family (Class 1) aggregating Rupees 3,18,965 per annum, besides Rupees 6,000 additional to the Rajah's daughter after her marriage. His late Highness relatives (class I) had also received among 164 persons, pensions amounting to Rupees 40,350 per annum, and 10 of the relatives of the Rajah Surfojee, who died after the Rajah himself, had been admitted to pensions aggregating Rupees 4,794 yearly.

17. There is another matter on which orders are required. There is some difference of opinion in regard to the proceedings of Sir C. Trevelyan in connection with the marriage of the late Rajah's daughter. Her choice of a husband was not in accordance with the wishes of her relatives. Sir C. Trevelyan thought, that she, being 14 years of age, was old enough to decide for herself and sanctioned the marriage, authorizing at the same time an advance of Rupees 35,000 to meet the expenses of the marriage ceremonies. The Secretary of State has noticed this matter in his des-

patch of the 9th June 1860 to the Government of Fort St. George, in that despatch he approved of the advance of money. The Government of India have now to decide, whether as recommended by the Madras Government, this charge should be borne by the State.

18. The letter No. 291, dated the 3rd May relates to the jewels, the value of these amounts to 615,589-5. These have been classed as State jewels, men's jewels, female's jewels, jewels common to both sexes, and Sydunah Baye's jewels.

19. Sydunah Baye was a wife of the late Rajah and mother of the lady married to Sukkah Ram Sahib, of which marriage, mention has been made above. A portion of her jewels are claimed by the late Rajah's mother and once belonged to her. Sir C. Trevelyan thought that they should revert to her, and that the remainder should go to the daughter.

20. Sir C. Trevelyan repeats the proposal stated in paragraph 9 of this communication, Mr. Maltby has "no objection to the generality of the jewels being distributed among the family, Mr. Morehead and Sir P. Grant object to any distribution being made till a final decision has been passed by the "Home Authorities" on the points on which the Council has been at issue.

21. On the several points above adverted to, I am directed to communicate the following orders :—

1st.—As regards the landed property held by the late Rajah. The Governor-General in Council concurs with Sir P. Grant and Mr. Morehead that such villages, &c., that were his private property, and not a portion of hereditary Raj or their value, *should be made to the family of the Rajah and divided among his heirs in accordance with the provisions of the Hindu Law.*

2nd.—Of the personal property, the sum of Rupees 1,10,000 which was in the Treasury at the time of the Rajah's death, should be made available for the payment of the Rajah's debts. His Excellency in Council is opposed to the formation of the "Tanjore Family Fund" proposed by Sir C. Trevelyan.

3rd.—The remaining personal property, not State property, *should be made over to the Rajah's family.*

4th.—The payment of the remainder of the Rajah's debts is sanctioned.

5th.—The pensions allotted by the Government of Madras' although the allotment has taken place without the previous reference which ought to have been made to the Government of India, are likewise sanctioned.

In respect to the passing by of the Supreme Government on this and other matters, subsequent events at Madras have made any comments on the part of the Government of India unnecessary.

6th.—The establishments referred to in paragraphs 13 and 14 of this letter are sanctioned.

7th.—The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the Rupees 35,000 advanced for the marriage of the Rajah's daughter should not be reclaimed. His Excellency in Council does not consider that the sum should be counted in diminution of the provisions of the members of the family, whether the young Princess, or her husband, or any other, may receive, and therefore it must be drawn from funds which belong to the Government.

The Governor-General in Council regrets the Proceedings which led to this advance being made, but bearing in mind how very peculiar those Proceedings have been, and how large and active a share in encouraging the marriage was taken by the head of the Madras Government, His Excellency in Council does not desire that the money should be reclaimed.

8th.—As regards the Armoury, the Governor-General in Council does not suppose that the Ranees desire to keep the Arms, and His Excellency in Council is of opinion, that they ought not to be sold by the Government. The sale of the Nagpore jewels which took place in Calcutta at the end of 1855, and early in 1856, produced, as the Governor-General in Council knows for certain, a very deep and painful effect upon the minds of many

Natives who had no concern with Nagpore. It was looked upon rightly or wrongly as an indignity, and His Excellency in Council deprecates a repetition of such Proceedings. Still the value of these arms ought to be carried to the benefit of the Tanjore family in some way: and the best way of doing this will be, that they should be valued, their value paid by the Government to the uses of the family, and that the Arms themselves (those at least which are of any interest) should be deposited in a suitable place of keeping before they can be seen by all.

The proposal of Sir C. Trevelyan on this head is in spirit a good one and is approved. Its details can best be worked out by the Madras Government.

19*th February* 1862.

Record No. 20.

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 17th ultimo No. 194, soliciting further instructions regarding the disposal of the landed property of the Tanjore Raj, and in reply to state that since it is doubtful whether the lands in question can be legally dealt with as State property, and since the plea in equity and policy for treating them as the private property of the Rajah is so strong, that it commands the unanimous support of the Members of the Madras Government, the Governor-General in Council sanctions the relinquishment of the whole of the lands in favor of the heirs of the late Rajah.

Fort William, June 23rd, 1860.

Record No. 21.

From

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

SIR,

With reference to your letter dated 26th September 1862, I transmit herewith for the information of your Excellency's Government, copy of a despatch addressed by me to the Government of India on the affairs of India.

I have, &c.

Despatch from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 23rd October 1862.

1. The letter of your Excellency's Government of March 8th 1862, and the Proceedings of your Government for June contain your final decision with respect to the recommendation of the Governor in Council of Madras; in connection with several important questions affecting the interests of the family of the late Rajah of Tanjore.

2. Your Excellency's Government has approved of the scale of pensions granted to the widows, to the relatives, and to the servants and dependents of the late Rajah. These pensions (which with certain specified exceptions, are very rightly limited to the respective lives of the recipients) amount in the aggregate to upward of 5 lakhs of Rupees per annum. They appear to have been calculated with due regard to the claims of several Members of the family, whom it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government to see supported in comfort and respectability.

3. You have very properly sanctioned the payment of the late Rajah's debts. The money found in his Treasury at the time of his death has been devoted as far as it will go to that purpose. The remaining obligations of his late Highness will be discharged by the British Government.

4. The orders which you have passed for the restoration to the family of the great bulk of the personal property belonging to the Rajah, are generally in agreement with the intentions of

Her Majesty's Government. Fully aware of the difficulty of discriminating in such cases between public and private property, and being desirous that the utmost liberality should be extended to the Tanjore family. Her Majesty's Government cheerfully forego their claim to this portion of the personal estate, and consent to the distribution in the manner proposed by Sir C. Trevelyan, in his minute of the 14th April 1860 of the jewels, cloths, and other personal effects of the late Rajah.

5. In accordance with these views after reserving the Swords of State,—"the hereditary possessions of the holder of the Tanjore Raj, which could be used or worn by the Rajah only," the purchase of Government at a valuation of the remainder of the Armoury and the intention of such portions, as may be of any interest in the Central Museum at Madras is approved, the arrangements referred to para. 9 of the proceedings of the Madras Government, May 17th 1862, for the maintenance of the Library, Hospital buildings and Palace establishments are sanctioned.

6. With regard to the landed property held by the late Rajah, it appears to have been of two kinds. There are estates purchased by His Highness, or otherwise obtained by him, as private property regarding which there was no doubt or dispute. These as matter of course, have been distributed among the members of the family, according to the principles of Hindu Law, but there were others of a more important character regarding the tenure of which a difference of opinion existed among the Members of the Madras Government. These were certain extensive and highly cultivated villages which were retained by the Rajah Surfojee at the time of the cession of the country, under the plea that these were gardens and pleasure grounds accessory to his ease and comfort, and which upon a representation to this effect, were conceded to him by the British Government. The question for decision was, whether these lands were so retained by the Rajah as a part of the Raj, and as such, lapsing to the British Government on his demise, or whether they were private property divisible among his heirs.

7. From a careful perusal of the voluminous report of the several Commissioners of Tanjore, and of the Minutes and Proceedings of the Madras Government thereon, it appears to Her Majesty's Government that these landed possessions, adverted to in para. 51 of theCommissioners' report of the 11th July 1857, and in the resolution of the Madras Government of the 5th December 1859, can be regarded in no other light than as a portion of the hereditary Raj or domain, and might have been dealt with in the same manner as all other rights and privileges acquired by him in his public capacity, at the time of the cession of the country to the British Government.

8. But whilst Her Majesty's Government entertained no doubt of the right of the State to resume possession of the lands temporarily alienated under such circumstances they were anxious to treat in the most liberal spirit the surviving members of the late Prince's family; and were willing to relinquish to them the benefits accruing from these possessions. They perceive therefore with much satisfaction, that the Madras Government were disposed to give a liberal interpretation to the instructions of your Excellency's Government and they confirm the arrangement, whereby you have sanctioned the relinquishment of the whole of the lands in favour of the heirs of the late Rajah. In what shares, and to what members of the family, it may, after due investigation, be equitable and suitable to their respective degrees of relationship to the deceased Prince, to distribute the property, I hope to be shortly informed.

9. Your Excellency's Government having determined the mode of dealing with the landed possessions of the late Rajah of Tanjore, it appears to be advisable to leave it to the Government of Madras to carry out these detailed arrangements with the utmost despatch. The delay which has already occurred in your decision upon the measures recommended by that Government has added considerably to the embarassments with which the subject was encompassed. But now that such marked and liberal consideration has been manifested for the interests and comfort of the family, Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that the present settlement will be received with satisfaction by the several

members of it, and that the reconcilement of any individual claims and differences that may arise will easily be effected by the judicious exercise of the influence and advice of the local Government.

10. I have to express approval of the decision of the Madras Government contained in the latter part of para. 9 of their Proceedings of the 5th December 1859, regarding Mirassee rights in their villages bequeathed by Mahana Baye to Sydumka Baye and regarding certain alienations of the nature of Inam to be dealt with by the Inam Commissioner.

11. I have only to add that the determination of your Government to treat the advance of Rupees 35,000 to the late Rajah's daughter on her marriage (sactioned in my letter of the 9th June 1860, to the Madras Government) as a free gift, not to be reclaimed, has the approbation of Her Majesty's Government.

12. A copy of this despatch will be forwarded to the Government of Madras.

ORDER THEREON, 31*st January* 1863.

Ordered that a copy of the foregoing despatch and its enclosure be furnished to the Government Agent at Tanjore for his information. It is observed that the letter from this Government reporting their proceedings in the matter of the Tanjore Raj up to the 26th of September last, although acknowledged in the foregoing despatch had not reached the Right Honorable the Secretary of State when his despatch to the Government of India of the 23rd October last was written.

Record No. 22.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Proceedings of the Madras Government.

Read the following letters from the Acting Government Agent at Tanjore.

Here enter 11*th and* 19*th November and* 8*th December* 1862, *Nos.* 343 *and* 389.

ORDER THEREON, 16*th January* 1863, No. 16.

1. In the foregoing letters the Acting Government Agent at Tanjore has applied for the orders of Government on certain

points connected with the disposal of the property of the late Rajah. Most of the questions raised are mooted in Memorials addressed to Government by Her Highness Kamatchee Baye Sahiba, and which have been submitted with the Agent's letters of the 19th November and 8th December 1862.

2. His Excellency the Governor in Council has carefully considered the agreements urged in these Memorials and the remarks of the Acting Agent, and he will now proceed to record his decision on each point.

1st.—The three jewels referred to in para. 1 of the Acting Agent's letter of the 11th November and in Her Highness Kamatchee Baye Sahib's Memorial of the 1st ultimo. These jewels it is admitted are State property, being in fact regalia of royalty worn by the reigning Prince on State occasions. The Governor cannot comply with Her Highness' applications that the stones of which these are composed should be removed from their settings and made over to her. They will be retained by Government in their present form and sent to Madras; when an opportunity offers, it will then be determined whether they should be sent to Her Majesty the Queen or retained at Madras.

2nd.—The gold Carriages, Howdahs, Ivory Throne and State Swords. These, it is clear, are also apart of the regalia, and as such, must be retained by Government.

3rd.—The small Fort and its buildings. The walls and ditch round the Town of Tanjore and the Palace now occupied by the family of the late Rajah. These are all State property and must be so treated. The Town walls will be thrown down and the ditch filled up under orders which will be issued on the subject in the Department of Public Works. The members of the late Rajah's family will be permitted to occupy the Palace under such arrangements as the Acting Agent may deem it proper to make; each inmate being required to keep in proper repair the part of the building in his or her immediate occupation.

4th.—The property sold by the late Commissioner or by Government including the bullion remitted to Madras, the value of the bullion it appears from a memorandum furnished by the

Mint Master is Rupees 34,732-1-3. The Acting Agent will furnish Her Highness Kamatchee Baye Sahiba with an account similar to the Statement A enclosed in his letter of the 19th November and will make over to her all the items entered in that account of their value, excepting of course such as it has been determined to retain as regalia.

5th.—The alleged deficiency in the value of cloths made over to Kamatchee Baye as compared with the value entered in the Schedule appended to the answer filed by Government in the Supreme Court. The clothes in question were injured by being kept locked up in boxes under the operation of the injunction issued by the Supreme Court. The Government cannot undertake to bear the loss. It was the result of Her Highness' own act in suing out the injunction, a proceeding which Her Highness and her advisers must have known was altogether unnecessary, for it could not be supposed that the Government would misappropriate the property pending litigation.

6th.—The value of the gold, &c., stolen by the Sepoys. The greater part of this belonged to the carriages which have been reserved as State property. The rest amounting to Rupees 4,136 will be paid to Her Highness.

7th.—The sum of 5,903-4, the value partly of clothes supplied to the young Princess on her marriage and partly damaged cloths sold by auction. This must be paid.

8th.—The Palace records, such of these as relate to the domestic accounts of the Palace, will, as recommended in para. 11 of the Agent's letter of the 19th November last, may be made over to Her Highness.

9th.—The houses named in para. 2 of Her Highness' Memorial of the 1st ultimo. Four of these are in the little Fort which with all the buildings it contains are to be reserved as State property. The other houses are the private property of the late Rajah's family, and must be so treated. The Acting Agent will accordingly make them over and will arrange for renting or purchasing on behalf of the Government such as may be required for public purpose.

10*th*.—The building occupied by the Principal School at Combaconum. This building was transferred by the late Rajah to Government, for educational purposes subject to the condition that when no longer required for such purposes it should be restored to him. It was a free gift so far as it went, and is clearly valid, but the Government do not desire to retain it in opposition to the wishes of the family. The Agent will accordingly arrange in communication with the Director of Public Instruction for renting the building until some other arrangements can be made for the accommodation of the School.

11*th*.—Compensation for Merasi at Ramnathpuram taken by Government for Railway purposes. The title to this land, it appears is in dispute. The amount of compensation due on it must therefore, as suggested by the Agent, be kept in deposit until the right of ownership is settled.

12*th*.—Houses and lands in Madras and Chinglepnt. The Collector of Madras will make, these houses and lands, over to Her Highness' Agent, if they are under his charge.

13*th*.—All the payments sanctioned in these proceedings are to be made without interest.

(True Extract.)

To

THE ACTING GONERNMENT AGENT AT TANJORE.
PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.
ACCOUNTANT GENERAL.
COLLECTOR OF MADRAS.

K.

A YOUNG INDIAN PRINCE.

"In that strange 'fortuitous concourse of atoms' which streams perpetually from the most distant parts of the world into that Alexandria of the West—London the cosmopolitan—there came to us last summer a young Indian sovereign prince, the Maharajah of Kholapoor.

"It was the first time that a reigning Hindoo had ever ventured to travel so far, and the journey was a great event among his people, who were much distressed at the idea of his crossing the sea. The wholo undertaking was one, indeed, requiring a degree of resolution which it is difficult for us to realise. He belonged, however, to the Mahrattas, who are more enterprising than most races of Hindoos. He spoke English well, and acquired a certain knowledge of modern history and of the politics and statesmen of the day, which enabled him to be interested in the conversation going on around him.

"He was barely twenty, though he looked much older; a small made man, with extremely slender hands and feet; his complexion of that pleasantly brown color, which looks as if it had been just ripened by the sun, not scorched black; the eyes very large and lustrous; without much expression and a contemplative, rather child-like look; his white teeth shone brilliantly, however, when he spoke, and lighted up the dark face.

"A kindly, gentle young prince, not wanting in intelligence, with a sort of easy dignity, as of one used to be obeyed, but apparently quite contented to remain languidly in the place where he happened to be, so that one wondered the more to see him venturing so far from home.

"He was ordinarily dressed in a kind of dark green cloth coat, with a curious edifice on his head formed of rolls of red muslin twisted into thin coils, without which he was never seen in public, any more than Louis XIV without his wig. He would have considered it an act of rudeness on his part to shew himself bare headed, though he pulled off his turban when with his own people only. He had never been alone in all his life, and used to sit chatting and laughing with his attendants on terms of perfect ease, curiously mixed with the Oriental depth of respect and reverence with which they treated him.

"He was already married, and a child had been born to him just before his departure. 'Only a girl,' however, much to his disappointment, as a daughter could not inherit. The Mahrattas are monoganists; but sovereigns and very great chiefs are

sometimes, though only for reasons of State policy, allowed by the 'sages' to take a second wife.

"In the Rajah's case, a little extra princess, who is now about seven years old, was growing up in reserve for him. She was the daughter of a very ancient and noble family; the Naik Nimbalkur of Phultum (not far from Poona;) a house which was said to have already reigned a thousand years at the time of the Mahomedan invasion, and whose claim furnished many brave leaders to the Mahratta cause in the succeeding struggles. "She is described by a lady who saw her some four years ago as a lovely little child, about two years and a half old, who came in escorted with a great pomp of attendants. They bore a sort of canopy over her, nominally to protect her from the gaze of mankind as she descended from her guilt-coach; but the decorum was only a sham, as she could be perfectly well seen under it. She was dressed in a short armless purple velvet jacket, and the saree, the long, graceful drapery worn by all Hindoos, wound about her. Her little arms and ankles were covered with bangles, she wore a large ring in her nose, and several pairs of earrings hung round the lobes of her ears. If she had been old enough for "manners," she would have enquired the ages of her visitors, and the ages of all their relations and friends, which is the correct style of conversation. As it was, her whole little soul was absorbed in a parasol, an instrument which she had never seen before, and which she kept opening and shutting with great delight all the time of her visit.

"'I shall bring the Rance to see you in England,' Rajaram said to his English friends; but this was intended to refer to the mother of his child not to this little lady.

"He had expressed a wish to see ordinary country life in England, and accordingly went to pay a visit in a country house. He came attended by three of his native servants, his English footman, and the English officer who accompanied him everywhere; but the accommodation required for the native suit was not excessive. The Rajah himself accepted a bed, but slept on the outside of it, wrapped in a magnificent pelisse of scarlet cloth embroidered with gold. The attendants lay in rugs on the floor, in their master's room and the dressing room adjoining. His

religious ablutions every morning were long and most scrupulously performed. Every thing about him was kept with great cleanliness and nicety—but to be touched by no intrusive housemaid. There was at first some difficulty in the arrangements concerning food. Not only must the killing and the cooking be done by the hands of the orthodox, but the passing of the shadow of any but a "twice-born" over the result, when prepared, would render it unfit to eat. All approach during these operations was warded off most energetically.

A small garden house having been cleared out, Dunderbar, a tall, handsome fellow, clad in brown cloth, with a red turban like his master's; the "cook" of a rather darker shade, in white garments with a red fez; and a third tall fellow, whom the English servants nicknamed 'the kitchen maid,' in blue with a turban, encamped there with an immense chest which they brought with them. They built their charcoal fire in the corner, and established themselves beside it, squatting with their multitudinous copper vessels big and little without handles, used alike to cook on the fire and to fetch water, as they would use none which they did not themselves draw at the well.

"They brought their own rice, spices, meat, and flour with them, and accepted nothing but live fowls, eggs and vegetables; they were very liberal in giving away their food, to which the cloves, curry powder, &c., which they used for every thing alike, gave a certain sameness of fiery taste almost intolerable to Western palates, but which was otherwise very good. They all ate with their fingers, but scrupulously washed their hands afterwards. The rest of the day the attendants sat munching cloves and nuts of various descriptions, smoking from a common pipe, which each passed on after taking a single whiff. One of them was always left on guard lest the vessels, &c., should be touched and so defiled. They were extremely intelligent, and showed themselves very quick in comprehending every thing with little language but that of signs by those who had to deal with them.

"A morning room was given up to the Rajah, with an entrance on the garden, through which his meals were brought without danger of contamination—the cook in his white gar-

ments, his feet bare on the rough gravel, but his head scrupulously covered (Indian respect is shewn in a way exactly the opposite of European manners), bearing in aloft on one hand, the arm bent back, a little tray covered with a napkin. The Rajah was extremely kind and courteous, making very pleasantly such pretty little speeches as his *metier* of prince required. He played eagerly at croquet, and the wide, green English lawn under the shadow of the trees was an oasis of common interest for the dusky little Eastern prince and the fair haired, fair complexioned Western girls and children, very curious to watch and consider amongst the dearth of points where intercourse was possible; while at respectable distance his three attendants stood following the success of their master's strokes with extreme interest.

"It was strange to look on the mild 'Hindoo' and remember the fierce ancestry he came of. He was a collateral descendant of the great Maharatta chief Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta Empire (in the days between our Restoration and Revolution,) who bearded the power of the Mogul Emperors when at its highest, and rose upon its ruins. 'The little mountain rat,' as Aurungzebe contemptuously called him, won from the great Mogul a territory on the western coast of India, extending one hundred and twenty miles in breadth and four hundred in length, from near Goa to near Bombay, and thence north, which Sevajee possessed at the time of his death, aged only fifty-two, in 1680.

"Kholapoor is in the Bombay Presidency, situated on the western side of India, and consists mainly of a fertile plain lying east of the line of the ghauts. Cotton, tobacco, and corn flourish in its deep black soil. Roads till within the last few years there were abosolutely none. A nephew of the poet Southey, who crossed the territory some twenty-five years ago, during the rains, wrote word that he had tried twenty-four different modes of crossing swollen rivers during his jurney of 140 miles; among which were—1, swimming with his clothes on; 2, with his clothes off, and upon his head; 3, on horse-back; 4, on the Ferryman's back; 5, on a basket; 6, on a door; 7, on a ladder; 8, on inflated skins; 9, on a netful of hollowed pumpkins;

10, holding a bullock's tail; 11, by a buffaloe's tail; which is safer, inasmuch as he swims better than his fellow beast, but requires a more wary hand upon him, since he is so fond of the water, that when he reaches the shore he is quite ready to turn round and swim back again. The last item in the list was a sugar boiling pan; and there was but one bridge among the twenty-four ways, which was not, after all, in the territory of Kholapoor, but in that of Sattara.

"Even quite lately, on a progress made four years ago, by the last admirable Governor of Bombay, Sir Battle Frere, to visit the Rajah who had adopted Rajaram, the edge of the cotton-fields was found a better line along which to drive and ride than the ordinary tracks. At night the party encamped in the open country, and when they reached the Kistna they crossed in circular wicker baskets made of cotton twigs covered with leather, which whirled round and round in the stream, where a body-guard of natives escorted them, swimming in all directions on inflated skins. Having once more resumed their march, the Governor and his daughter were met by the Rajah himself, with a magnificent procession of elephants and horses in gala dress with splendid housings; the elephants with arabesques painted on their broad foreheads, and silver bangles on their post-like legs; the horses still more liberally adorned—one white horse had stripes of magenta painted over him; face and all.

"Every thing was going on with great ceremony and decorum, when suddenly a baby elephant, which had accompanied its mother to increase the grandeur and number of the retinue, took fright, probably not having been used to so much company, and ran away. He was so small that he passed under the legs of the others, one of which had such an exceedingly bad temper that he was only brought out on great occasions, when every animal the State possessed was mustered. Offended at the liberty taken with his legs, he set off, regardless of hospitality, charging down on the English party. It was no joke. The heavy beast rushed on, swaying violently from side to side, as is the habit of the elephants when they are angry, till he had thrown off his riders and twisted the howdah on one side. The mahout, however,

held firm, seated on his head, and did not altogether lose control over him as he plunged in the crowd, nearly overturning Governor and suite, till at length the attendants succeeded in directing him into the harmless open country, and the whole procession once more resumed its decorum and its march to the town of Kholapoor. It is not a very interesting collection of one-storied houses, chiefly of mud; the palace, a large square building, with a very handsome gateway, consisting of three deep horse-shoe arches lined with beautiful fretwork, is built round a great court yard, its walls adorned by gigantic frescoes in brilliant colouring of scenes from the Hindu Mythology, 'very startling and effective.'

"On the evening of the day of his arrival the Governor paid his return visit to the Maharajah. It was growing dusk, and the lines of streets were marked out by little lamps suspended from the ends of bamboos fastened to the tops of the houses, a most picturesque mode of aerial illumination; while flowers were scattered about in profusion. These are the great staple of Indian decoration, are cultivated for the purpose every where, and are always exquisitely arranged. Before the centre arch of the entrance to the palace stood two sentry boxes, in each of which towered an elephant and his rider, a Brobdignag edition of the sentinels at the horse-guards of a very grandiose description.

"The hall of ceremony where the Durbar was held was supported by columns covered with scarlet lac, like sealing-wax, the wall ornamented all round with the same, which looked extremely brilliant when lighted up. The Rajah sat at the head of a line of followers up one side of the room, just opposite the Governor, who headed a similar line of his own suite, on the other side, and, as the hall was narrow, they were thus within speaking distance of each other without compromising the dignity of either. Both host and guest had garlands of flowers hung round them, necklaces of white jessamine, of the beautiful stephanotus and sweet-smelling tuberoses strung on threads, five together, and fastened with a rose at intervals. Through a veiled door at the end the ladies of the Zenana

looked in and listened. An entertainment then followed in a hall lined with white marble throughout, with white marble columns and chairs of the same, set against the wall, and, of course, immoveable. Sweetmeats mixed with flowers were laid out on a table, an innovation of honor of English customs. Within was another department belonging to the Zenana, the decorations of which were all in black marble, with columns of Black basalt, where the chief princess—in this case the Akasahib, a married sister of the Rajah—did the honors to the Governor's daughter, 'assisted' more humbly by the Ranee. The wife is quite second in position in a Hindu establishment while the mother and sister of the chief are alive, and to turn these out of a house would be looked upon as an act of cruelty not even to be thought of. Their family affection is often extremely strong, and the Akasahib, who followed her brother to the grave in a very short time, was supposed to have died of grief at his loss. The great man being expected patriarchally to shelter all his relations under his roof, the palace was honey-combed with a number of little courts for the different families, with small rooms entirely open on one side, and lighted only by this way, like those at Pompeii.

"The Rajah was exceedingly anxious that his adopted son, a young cousin, should inherit his dignity, if he himself died without a lineal descendant, and the boy Rajaram was educated accordingly. He succeeded to the principality about two years ago. The little state contains about a million inhabitants, including feudatories, over whom the sovereign has power of life and death; and a tolerably large revenue is collected from the inhabitants, thanks to its inexhaustibly fertile soil, where the same crops have come up on the same grounds for centuries, without manure and without signs of failure.

"About the beginning of last year the young prince determined to spend the time before reaching his majority in a pilgrimage to England, which he reached in June. He hired a house in London, and worked hard at seeing the sights required from a conscientious traveller; attended debates in both houses of Parliament, was present at the Queen's Ball in gorgeous ap-

parel, where, in his cloth of gold tissues, necklaces, and strings of jewels, he looked like the prince in a fairy tale. He paid a visit to the Queen at Windsor, who, he said, 'was very kind'; attended a meeting of the British Association at Liverpool, where, being asked to speak, he said a few words, much to the satisfaction of his audience, on his intention to do all in his power to encourage the cultivation of cotton on his return to India; went to Scotland, where he distributed the prizes at a great volunteer festival, and made a second little speech, greatly to the purpose, about the good feeling growing up between East and West, and on the friendly relations of India to England. He ended by a visit to the Maharajah Duleep Singh, in Suffolk, which he said to have much enjoyed. He seemed much pleased, altogether, with his treatment, during his whole stay, and was turning his steps homeward to India through Belgium, the Tyrol, and Italy; the way by Paris, where he otherwise wished to have gone, being blocked by the war, when he was overtaken by the winter.

"The snow fell, and his followers were extremely anxious to carry back a box of the strange stuff to 'show them at home.' Even the moderate degree of cold in an English October had tried the men very painfully, and probably affected poor Rajaram himself. He was taken ill at Florence with a heart complaint, from which he had already suffered before at Innspruck on his journey. Nothing, probably, could have been of much use in such a case, he disliked being attended by western Physicians, and the end was very sudden at last, though the best doctors in Florence were summoned to his aid for the satisfaction of his most careful and judicious guardian, Captain West. Almost as soon as the breath was out of the Rajah's body his poor attendants began their preparations, intending at first to burn it on the Lung, Arno, the very midst of the city, as the ceremony must be performed on the banks of a river. This, of course, could not be permitted, and with much difficulty Sir Augustus Paget obtained permission from the Italian authorities to allow the funeral to be carried out after midnight, at the end of the cascine, two miles from the Tower.

"It was a dark night, a blustering north wind was blowing, and the cold was biting, says an eye-witness; the pile had been built already breast high, and near it was a fire, round which a group of Hindus were standing sadly and silently. 'The Rajah was the kindest and best of masters, and these poor fellows are as grieved at his loss as if he were their own father,' was the affectionate tribute of his English servant.

"Presently came up an omnibus containing the body, which was then brought out upon a plank. As it was borne along, the light from two feeble lanterns fell on the placid features of a young and apparently corpulent man. The turban and a richly-embroidered robe which wrapped the corpse were of bright scarlet; the bracelets, necklaces, and jewels 'round his neck and arms were said to be of great value, and were all afterwards consumed in the fire. The body was then laid reverentially upon the pile. One attendant placed betel-nut in the mouth and hands, a second piled camphor around it, another muttered several prayers. A Brahmin priest performed strange ceremonies with a white linen cloth which he folded and unfolded, offering up prayers while kneading dough, to be placed alongside the corpse, which was then carefully fenced in whith logs and planks, forming a sort of box, into which were thrown perfumes and essences; fresh logs were piled up for about a couple of yards more; camphor, and a mixture of bees-wax and turpentine, and a quantity of brushwood and shavings were added, and the mass was then kindled. The flames shot up brilliantly, driven by a strong gust of wind, throwing a lurid glare on the numerous spectators, the muddy Arno, the black clump of trees, not yet quite bare of leaves, and the groups of Indians of every different shade of colour from coal black to light brown, with their glistening white teeth, and turbans differing in shape according to the rank of the wearers. Each had his settled station near the funeral fire, and stood gazing intently on it during the long cold hours with a kind of mournful forlorn resignations which was extremely touching—many of them weeping bitterly. At seven in the morning the wood was all consumed, the embers were extinguished by water from the river, the ashes were col-

lected and placed in a porcelain jar to be carried home.' Every thing used in the funeral pile was then taken out in a boat and sunk in mid-stream, and the attendants laid fresh earth on the spot itself, traced in the form of a heart, around which were then placed small vessels containing rice. Then all the Hindoos knelt and prayed with their faces to the ground—the dismal ceremony was finished, and the forlon retinue departed in silence, bearing with them the vase with the ashes to be thrown into the Ganges, when they should reach their native land. The next day they had all left Florence.

"And thus, far from his Indian, and even his English friends, his country, his young wife and child, amongst men of an alien religion, of foreign and unsympathising race, the poor boy Rajah passed away. His death is a real misfortune, and very seriously to be regretted for every reason. It is sad to think of the dismay and grief it will occasion in his family and State; and it is to be feared that it will discourage men of his class, who might otherwise undertake the journey to Europe, from attempting so dangerous an experiment. Rajaram had made a great effort to visit England, and seemed quite disposed to use his experience on his return to Kholapoor, and introduce many reforms, especially with regard to the education of women. He 'wished particularly,' he said, 'to have the Raneo instructed.' And this is a change which may be said to lie at the root of all real improvement in India. While the Zenana remains what it is, the lowering effects of its atmosphere upon the men of the higher classes, in childhood and manhood alike, is almost as injurious as to the women themselves.

"'I was born in this court-yard, I have lived and been married in this court, and in this court I shall die,' said a poor Hindoo princess, who longed after better things, with a sort of groan."

The writer concludes by noticing—"How affectionately Rajaram spoke of the kindness shewn to him in England, how much he seemed to enjoy his visit, and how true an interest was shewn in his welfare, and what sorrow for his fate has been felt by all classes who came in contact, during his stay, with the gentle, kindly young Maharajah of Kholapoor."

A few slight and inevitable inaccuracies occur here and there in the above article, which it has not been thought necessary to correct. In some cases, (*e. g.*, as to the funeral details) the preceding pages supply the corrections required.

It only remains to add, that the design on the covers of the book is copied from a letter of the Rajah's. The following explanation of it is furnished by the kindness of Sir Bartle Frere :—

" The device on the Rajah's note paper is a belt, including a pair of ' Mohrchails,' or peacock feather fans, or fly flappers, which, according to the old custom in India, and, I believe, elsewhere in the East, are the emblems either of independent sovereignty or of one invested by the emperor with royal powers. They are gold mounted, and are borne on each side of the possessor on all state occasions. The pair used by the Rajah of Kholapoor were granted by the emperor of Delhi, and were highly valued, as very few princes could boast of such a grant. I believe the peacock feather fans borne on state occasions before the Pope are of Oriental origin, but feathers are differently set.

L.

'A RAJPUT TALE.

LUTCHMUN AND PUDMANI.

Lakumsi* succeeded his father in S. 1331 (A. D. 1275), a memorable era in the annals, when Cheetore, the repository of all that was precious yet untouched of the arts of India, was stormed, sacked, and treated with remorseless barbarity, by the Pathan emperor, Alla-o-din. Twice it was attacked by this subjugator of India. In the first siege it escaped spoliation, though at the price of its best defenders; that which followed is the first successful assault and capture of which we have any detailed account.

Bheemsi was the uncle of the young prince, and protector during his minority. He had espoused the daughter of Hamir Sank (Chohan) of Ceylon, the cause of woes unnumbered to the

* Lakumsi and Lutchmun are synonymous.—*Author.*

Sesodias. Her name was Pudmani, a title bestowed only on the superlatively fair, and transmitted with renown to posterity by tradition and the song of the bard. Her beauty, accomplishments, exaltation, and destruction, with other incidental circumstances, constitute the subject of one of the most popular traditions of Rajwarra.* The Hindu bard recognizes the fair, in preference to fame and love of conquest, as the motive for the attack of Alla-o-din, who limited his demand to the possession of Pudmani; though this was after a long and fruitless siege. At length he restricted his desire to a mere sight of this extraordinary beauty, and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of mirrors. Relying on the faith of the Rajpoot, he entered Cheetore slightly guarded, and having gratified his wish, returned. The Rajpoot, unwilling to be outdone in confidence, accompanied the king to the foot of the fortress amidst many complimentary excuses from his guest at the trouble he thus occasioned. It was for this that Alla risked his own safety, *relying on the superior faith of the Hindu.* Here he had an ambush; Bheemsi was made prisoner, hurried away to the Tatar camp, and his liberty made dependent on the surrender of Pudmani.

Despair reigned in Cheetore when this fatal event was known, and it was debated whether Pudmani should be resigned as a ransom for their defender. Of this she was informed, and expressed her acquiescence. Having provided wherewithal to secure her from dishonour, she communed with two chiefs of her own kin and clan of Ceylon, her uncle Gorah and his nephew Badul, who devised a scheme for the liberation of their prince without hazarding her life or fame. Intimation was despatched to Alla, that on the day he withdrew from his trenches the fair Pudmani would be sent, but in a manner befitting her own and his high station, surrounded by her females and handmaids; not only those who would accompany her to Delhi, but many others who desired to pay her this last mark of reverence. Strict commands were to be issued to prevent curiosity from violating the sanctity of female decorum and privacy. No less than seven

* As good as the story of Setha and Rama in the south.—*Author.*

hundred covered litters proceeded to the royal camp. In each was placed one of the bravest of the defenders of Cheetore; borne by six armed soldiers disguised as litter-porters. They reached the camp. The royal tents were enclosed with *Kanats* (walls of cloth); the litters were deposited, and half an hour was granted for a parting interview between the Hindu prince and his bride. They then placed their prince in a litter and returned with him, while the greater number (the supposed damsels) remained to accompany the fair to Delhi. But Alla had no intention to permit Bheemsi's return, and was becoming jealous of the long interview he enjoyed, when, instead of the prince and Pudmani, the devoted band issued from their litters; but Alla was too well guarded. Pursuit was ordered, while these covered the retreat till they perished to a man. A fleet horse was in reserve for Bheemsi, on which he was placed, and in safety ascended the fort, at whose outer gate the host of Alla was encountered. The choicest of the heroes, of Cheetore, met the assault. With Gorah and Badul at their head, animated by the noblest sentiments, the deliverance of their chief and the honour of their queen, they devoted themselves to destruction, and few were the survivors of this slaughter of the flower of Mewar. For a time Alla was defeated in his object, and the havoc they had made in his ranks, joined to the dread of their determined resistance, obliged him to desist from the enterprise.

Mention has already been made of the adjuration, "by the sin of the sack of Cheetore." Of these sacks they enumerate *three and a half*. This is the 'half:' for though the city was not stormed, the best and bravest were cut off (saka). It is described with great animation in the *Khoman Rása*. Badul was but a stripling of twelve, but the Rajpoot expects wonders from this early age. He escaped, though wounded, and a dialogue ensues between him and his uncle's wife, who desires him to relate how her lord conducted himself ere she joins him. The stripling replies: "He was the reaper of the harvest of battle; I followed his steps as the humble gleaner of his sword. On the gory bed of honour he spread a carpet of the slain; a barbarian prince his pillow he laid him down, and sleeps surrounded by the foe."

Again she said: "Tell me, Badul, how did my love (*peeár*) behave?" "Oh! mother, how further describe his deeds, when he left no foe to dread or admire him?" She smiled farewell to the boy, and adding, "my lord will chide my delay,"* sprung into the flame.

Alla-o-din, having recruited his strength, returned to his object, Cheetore. The annals state this to have been in S. 1346 (A. D. 1290), but Ferishta gives a date thirteen years later. They had not yet recovered the loss of so many valiant men who had sacrificed themselves for their prince's safety, and Alla carried on his attacks more closely, and at length obtained the hill at the southern point, where he entrenched himself. They still pretend to point out his trenches; but so many have been formed by subsequent attacks that we cannot credit the assertion. The poet has found in the disastrous issue of this siege admirable materials for his song. He represents the Rana, after an arduous day, stretched on his pallet, and during a night of watchful anxiety, pondering on the means by which he might preserve from the general destruction one at least of his twelve sons; when a voice broke on his solitude, exclaiming "*My'n bhooka ho'*;"† and raising his eyes, he saw, by the dim glare of the cheragh,‡ advancing between the granite columns, the majestic form of the guardian goddess of Cheetore. "Not satiated," exclaimed the Rana, "though eight thousand of my kin were late an offering to thee? I must have regal victims; and if twelve who wear the diadem bleed not for Cheetore, the land will pass from the line." This said, she vanished.

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* Does not this remind one of the passage in the song of Deborah? Judges, Chapter V., verses 28 to 30.

'The mother of Sisera looked out of a window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming? Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?' Her wise ladies answered her, yea, she returned, answer to herself, Have they not sped? Have they *not* divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two; to Sisera a prey of divers colours, a prey of divers colours of needle work, of divers colours of needle work, on both sides, meet for the necks of *them that take* the spoil? *Author*.

† 'I am hungry.' ‡ Lamp.

On the morn he convened a council of his chiefs, to whom he revealed the vision of the night, which they treated as the dream of a disordered fancy. He commanded their attendance at midnight; when again the form appeared, and repeated the terms on which alone she would remain amongst them. "Though thousands of barbarians strew the earth, what are they to me? On each day enthrone a prince. Let the kirnia,* the Chehtra,* and the Chamra* proclaim his sovereignty, and for three days let his decrees be supreme. On the fourth let him meet the foe and his fate. Then only may I remain."

Whether we have merely the fiction of the poet, or whether the scene was got up to animate the spirit of resistance, matters but little, it is consistent with the belief of the tribe; and that the goddess should openly manifest her wish to retain as her tiara the battlements of Cheetore on conditions so congenial to the warlike and superstitious Rajpoot, was a gauge readily taken up and fully answering the end. A generous contention arose amongst the brave brothers, who should be the first victim to avert the denunciation. *Ursi* urged his priority of birth; he was proclaimed, the umbrella waved o'er his head, and on the fourth day he surrendered his short lived honours and his life. *Ajeysi*,† the next in birth, demanded to follow; but he was the favorite son of his father, and at his request he consented to let his brothers precede him. Eleven had fallen in turn, and but one victim remained to the salvation of the city, when the Rana, calling his chiefs around him, said, "now I devote myself for Cheetore." But another awful sacrifice was to precede this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite, the *Jahur*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the 'great subterranean retreat,' in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Cheetore beheld in procession the queens, their

* These are the insignia of royalty. The *Kernia* is a parasol, from *keren* 'a ray;' the *Chehtra* is the umbrella, always red: the *Chamra*, the flaming tail of the wild ox, set in a gold handle, and used to drive away the flies.

† The progenitor of Sevajee.—*Author.*

own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. *The fair Pudmani closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust.* They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leading them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element.

A contest now arose between the Rana and his surviving son; but the father prevailed, and Ajeysi, in obedience to his commands, with a small band passed through the enemy's lines, and reached Kailwarra in safety. The Rana, satisfied that his line was not extinct, now prepared to follow his brave sons; and calling around him his devoted clans, for whom life had no longer any charms, they threw open the portals and descended to the plain, and with a reckless despair carried death, or met it in the crowded ranks of Alla. The Tatar conquerer took possession of an inanimate capital, strewed with brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire; and since this devoted day the cavern has been sacred; no eye has penetrated its gloom, and superstition has placed as its guardian a huge serpent, whose "venomous breath," extinguishes the light which might guide intruders* to "the place of sacrifice."

M.

THE IRON PILLAR.

"This," says General Cunningham, "is one of the most curious monuments in India." * * * "It is a solid shaft of mixed "metal upwards of 16 inches in diameter, and about 50 feet in "length." * * * "The total height of the Pillar above the "ground is 22 feet;" * * * "its depth under ground is consi-

* The author has been at the entrance of this retreat, which, according to the *Khoman Rasa,* conducts to a subterranean palace, but the mephitic vapours and venomous reptiles did not invite to adventure, even had official situation permitted such slight to these prejudices. The author is the only Englishman admitted to Cheetore since the days of Herbert, who appears to have described what he saw.

"derably greater than its height above ground, as a recent "excavation was carried down to 26 feet without reaching the "foundation on which the Pillar rests." General Cunningham considers that the whole length would not be less than 60 feet, and that it would weigh upwards of 17 tons. The pillar was probably erected by Rajah Dhava in A. D. 319; this Sovereign's name is imprinted on it. Anang Pal II.* of the Tomara dynasty, seems to have been the Sovereign who had it dug up, but the popular legend gives the credit or otherwise of this to Rajah Pitthora, the last of the Hindoo Sovereigns, who was defeated by Shahaboodeen. (Anang Pal II. reigned a few years before Pitthora.)

This wonderful fragment of antiquity is situated in the Bhoolkanah, or grand square of the Mosque, and was probably a triumphal pillar erected by Rajah Dhava. The native legend referred to above is as follows :—

That Rajah Pitthora, dreading the fall of his dynasty, consulted the Brahmins as to what steps should be taken to ensure its continuance. He was informed that if he sunk an iron shaft into the ground, and managed to pierce the head of the snake god Lishay who supported the world, his kingdom would endure for ever. The pillar was accordingly constructed, and the

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* The word *Pal* is of very ancient origin; which I cannot trace. Among the kings of the Tomara race it is an affix assumed by the reigning princes; in the same manner as the affix *Ra*, assumed by the kings of Egypt, which with the article prefixed is *Phara*, thus *Pharoah* the royal appellation of every Egyptian king. The fact that the Sun was a sign of royalty among the Egyptians is suggestive that they are descended from the *Surya vumsa*. In Egypt his temple was at *On* called *Heliopolis*—city of the Sun; his name *Ra*, represented with the head of a hawk, in colour red. In hieroglyphics his symbol the Sun's disc, his sacred animal the bull. The monarch styled himself *Si-ra*. The Sanscrit is *Surya*. The Sun is always on the royal scutcheon; the word for king is in Egyptian language *Oura* with the article it became *Pharoah*. The word *Pal* might probably be derived from the Sanscrit *Palah* (पालः) protector, *Gopalah* (गोपालः) is a name given to Kristna when incarnated as a shepherd. Then do the Tuar Rajputs spring from the 'Shepherd king.' *Pal* (பால்) in Tamil means milk, connect with this the suggestive fact, the names—Palestine, and Palibothra. —*Author*.

directions of the Brahmins implicitly obeyed. How long the shaft remained undisturbed is not said, but the Rajah, either distrusting his priestly advisers, or desirous of seeing for himself whether the snake had been touched, contrary to the entreaties of the Brahmins, had the pillar taken up. To the surprise of the spectators and the consternation of the Sovereign, the end of it was found covered with blood, and the Rajah was informed that his dynasty would shortly cease. He ordered the pillar to be again inserted in the ground, but the serpent below appears to have had enough of cold iron, and the Brahmins declared that the sceptre would soon pass away from the hands of the Hindoo Sovereign. The charm was anyhow broken, for Shahaboodeen shortly after wrested from Pitthora his life and kingdom, and from that day to this no Hindoo king has ever ruled in Delhi.

N.

FORT OF RAJAH PITTHORA.

From the N. W. angle of Lalkot (See 63) the lines of Rae Pitthora's wall can still be distinctly traced running towards the North for about half a mile. From this point they turn to the "South-east for 1 and a ½ miles, then to the South for 1 mile, "and lastly to the West and N. W. for ¾ of a mile, where they "join the South-west angle of Lalkot, which, being situated on "higher ground, forms a lofty citadel that completely commands "the Fort of Rae Pitthora. The entire circuit of the walls of the "two forts is 4 miles and 3 furlongs. * * * The fort of Rae Pitthora, "which surrounds the citadel of Lalkot on 3 sides, would appear "to have been built to protect the Hindoo city of Dilli from the "attacks of the Mussulmans." * * * As the first appearance of "the formidable Ghoris before Lahore corresponds so nearly with "the accession of Prethvi Rajah 'or Pitthora' I., I think it very "probable that the fortification of the city of Delhi was forced "upon the Rajah by a well grounded apprehension that Dilli "itself might soon be attacked; and it so happened, for within two "years after the battle of Tilaori, the Rajah was a prisoner, and "Dilli was in the possession of Mussulmans." * * * The defences "of the city are in every way inferior to those of the citadel,

"The walls are one-half the height and the towers are placed at "much longer intervals." * * * "The fort of Rae Pitthora is said "to have had nine gates besides the Ghuzni Gate. Four of these "gates can still be traced. The first is on the west side, and is "covered by an outwork; the second is on the north side "towards Indraput; the third is on the east side towards "Toogluckabad, and the fourth is on the S. E. side. But besides "these there must have been other gates somewhere on the south "side, one of which could not have been far from Sir T. Metcalfe's "house." (See 68). "Such was the Hindu city of Dilli "when it was captured by the Mussulmans in January 1193. "The circuit of its walls was nearly 4½ miles, and it covered a "space of ground equal to one half of the modern Sahajenabbad, "the capital of the Mogul Sovereigns of India. It possessed 27 "Hindoo temples, of which several hundreds of richly carved "pillars remain to attest both the taste and the wealth of the last "Hindoo rulers of India." (General Cunningham.)

O.

OPINIONS OF THE INDIAN PRESS.

We have received a copy of a work entitled the "Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern India," by W. Hickey, a publication which gives a very good sketch of that province, during the time of its late rulers, and those who went before. The book gives an account of the province both physically and politically. It gives a sketch of the way in which Tanjore fell into the possession of the Mahrattas. The book also gives a good account of the different treaties that have been made between the Tanjore princes and the East India Company, and according to it those princes have been the most faithful allies of the English that they ever had, while the latter have not always been so true to their word as they might have been. There is a very interesting statement in this publication of the connection of the Missionary Swartz with the Tanjore princes. He appears to have had great influence with the natives generally, and with the native princes more especially. Even the savage Hyder Ali was struck with the holy bearing of Swartz, and declared that he was the only European whom he could trust. The young prince of Tanjore looked upon the aged Mis-

sionary as a father, and when he died the prince had a tablet raised to his memory. The book contains a good deal of interesting information, and all those who take an interest in Tanjore will find pleasure in reading it.........*Madras Times.*

Of all the provinces in the Madras Presidency, omitting the Ceded Districts, none has undergone so many changes of Government as Tanjore. Yet the natural wealth and resources of the District are such that it has been able to maintain a very high place among the provinces of India. For several years it was the bone of contention between the Pandiya and Chola kings of Southern India, and it was changing hands till the advent of the Mussulmans, who, though they conquered it, never became *direct* masters of the place. Then Sahajee came from the north and conquered it. His second son Vencajee established himself there and the representative of this noble enterprising family is the present Princess of Tanjore, whose woes and troubles have been graphically described by Mr. John Bruce Norton. Mr. Hickey, a Pleader of the Madras Presidency, has published a volume on Tanjore, its geography and history. He has shown the injustice done to the Princess by the British Government, and has pointed out how strong her claims are to the Musnud. One thing is evident, the writer has written it with full sympathy and pity for fallen greatness. He has collected materials from various documents. The book will be a very useful one to anybody who wishes to have a short history of British injustice in Tanjore. We have derived pleasure from the perusal of the book, though we do not approve of some of the views of the author, and question the soundness of the traditions he has quoted. It is very much to be regretted that the author has not quoted the authorities for his statements and the account of the early connexion of England with Tanjore is very meagre indeed.............*Native Public Opinion.*

Mr. William Hickey, Pleader, a son of the late well-known Reverend W. Hickey, has published an account of the Tanjore Mahratta principality in Southern India. We have to acknowledge with thanks receipt of a copy of the brochure, the getting

up of which was entrusted to Mr. Caleb Foster, who, with his usual success in such matters, has turned out a very neat and elegant little volume, clear type, good paper, and a fair map. But this is not all that can be said of the book. Mr. Hickey modestly disclaims originality for the work. It is only a Manual —" for the guidance of the ruling power'' as well as for the use of the family in whose behalf it has been compiled. As a Manual of the land of the Chola,—the Eden of the South,—it will be found very entertaining reading. There is a pleasant account of the Tanjore country, its natural appearances, its productions, arts and professions, with a mythical history of its rivers. Mr. Hickey further gives a concise account of the ancient and modern Chola and Nack dynasties, and the final conquest of the country by the Mahrattas—and brings down the history to the death of the last Sovereign Seevajee. After having completed this portion of his work the author proceeds to the cream and the ultimate object of his undertaking, *viz.*, that of the claims of the daughter of the deceased Rajah of Tanjore, the wife of the native personage who recently illustrated the apothegem that a certain class of persons and their money are easily parted. Mr. Hickey deserves considerable credit for the very neat manner in which he has handled the subject, and the family for whose special use the book was compiled will no doubt be pleased with the performance. But we do not think it right to dismiss the subject without offering a few observations in respect to the grave injustice that has been committed by the Government in respect to the Tanjore family. In 1787 a treaty was entered into by the then Rajah and the East India Company. The object of that treaty was to settle and arrange by a just and equitable agreement a plan for the future defence and protection of the Carnatic, the Tanjore country, and the Northern Circars on a solid and *lasting* foundation; and with the view of maintaining a proper Military force on a peace establishment, the Rajah of Tanjore was required to contribute annually as his share of the expenses, four lakhs of star pagodas, these four lakhs of star pagodas were proportioned to the gross revenue of the Tanjore country which was estimated at ten lakhs of star pagodas. That is to say, two-fifths of the revenue of Tanjore were an-

nually paid into the British treasury. This payment was pledged upon the security of any of the districts in the country which the British Government may choose to enter upon should failure of payment ever occur. It was further arranged by the treaty that, in the event of war breaking out in Tanjore or on the Coast of Coromandel, four-fifths of the revenues were to be applied towards the expenses of the war. Similar arrangement was also made with the Nabob of the Carnatic. Another treaty was executed five years afterwards, in the year 1792, in which it was stated that, that the object of the previous treaty of 1787 was, to use the euphemistic words in which the late Court of Directors were in the habit of so liberally using in their intercourse with native princes, "for the purpose of cementing an *everlasting* friendship with each other and of contributing mutually towards the defence of the Carnatic and the countries dependent on it." In times of war it was further agreed that the British Government should have full authority over the country, collecting the revenues and paying the Rajah one lakh of pagodas annually and one-fifth share of the net revenue, and that at the close of the war, the country be restored to the Rajah with the control over it secured to him by the former treaty. The nature of both treaties was, however, such as recognized the sovereign position of the Rajahs of Tanjore. A third treaty was entered into in the year 1799, the object of which was for "establishing the Government of Tanjore on a permanent footing." With this object the collection of the revenues of the country was confided entirely in the hands of the British Government, as also the judicial administration, the Rajah being paid one lakh of star pagodas annually and one-fifth part of the net revenue, called the punjoom hissab and "being treated on all occasions in his own territories as well as in those of the Company with all the attention, respect, and honor which is due to *a friend* and *ally* of *the British nation.*" Thus the sovereign character of the Rajah was in no wise affected.

The last Rajah, Sevajee, succeeded to the rights, privileges and honors which were thus secured by the treaty just alluded to; and was in every respect a Sovereign prince, not a mere

pensioner or dependent. His Highness the late Tanjore Rajah died without male issue and the Government escheated the country. Of the wisdom and justice of this measure there have been a variety of opinions. Mr. Hickey calls it a "political atrocity." "With a perfect knowledge that the law and the custom of the country maintained the succession among Mahratta royalty of a surviving widow or daughter, the Court of Directors by their proceedings of the 16th April 1856, declared that the Raj of Tanjore was extinct from want of *a male heir* claiming through a male." It is, perhaps, now too late in the day to endeavour to obtain a reconsideration of the ruling which has done such grave injustice to an ancient and firm ally of the British nation with whom a bond of "*everlasting friendship*" had been established by solemn treaty. But, we believe, that something might be done for securing for the Princess something like the arrangement entered into by Her Majesty's Government with H. H. Azeem Jah Bahadoor. The Princess of Tanjore should be recognized as a Princess by Letters Patent. She should be permitted to have around her those marks of princely insignia which have been awarded to the Prince of Arcot. A suitable revenue, perhaps, out of the broad lands of her ancestors should be assigned to and settled on her and her descendants from generation to generation, and a special residence prepared for her and her successors in the title. If the Government take this suggestion into consideration and render justice scantily rendered hitherto, they will afford much satisfaction to the people of the country and the many princes who looked on with dissatisfaction at the absorption of this beautiful and rich country dreading a similar fate for themselves and their progeny. —*Madras Standard.*

We have received a book, by Mr. W. Hickey, concerning the District of Tanjore and its past and present Government and condition. The book is undoubtedly an important one; not so much because the statements it contains are new, but because in it old questions of great political import are re-opened with considerable ability, and a wide array of facts produced which cannot be idly pooh-poohed. But it is not our intention, at present at

least, to enter into the controversy invited by Mr. Hickey's pamphlet.—*Athenæum and Daily News.*

Sometime ago we promised our readers to comment upon Mr. Hickey's "Tanjore Mahratta Principality." The book is an important one, as it touches local interests. It is chiefly remarkable for containing a wide array of facts, and will be in its way invaluable to any future Orme who may chronicle the history of Southern India during this century. The book is dedicated to the Native Princes of India, and its object is to put forward the claims to consideration of the Mahratta princes of Tanjore, once so potent, now so fallen. The author has evidently consulted many records, and has been aided in his work by T. Rajah Ram Missar. The author reviews the history of the Mahratta family. He dwells on the services that have been afforded to the British Power by that family. He sketches with a graphic pen the peaceful splendour and beneficent vigour of the regime of Surfojee, the friend of Swartz and Heber, and the faithful ally of Britain. He shows how the family still held its own, and still was peaceful and loyal, under the reign of the less brilliant Sevajee. And then he lays bare of that extraordinary act of annexation by the British Government, when, after Sevajee's death, the Tanjore Raj was, in 1856, declared to be extinct. The book is rendered still more valuable, because of numerous official papers, and opinions of leading legal men, being contained in its pages.

In the book before us, Tanjore is called the Eden of the South. It well deserves that name. Its fertility is unbounded. It is the land in which Hinduism has made great centres of social and religious life. Great rivers flow through it, great cities adorn it. Its temples are amongst the most sacred, and the whole country teems with historic sites. It was the seat of the Chola dynasty, a magic name in the annals of South India. It was the scene of many of our hardest fought fields last century, when we struggled for supremacy in India with France. Its Rajahs have been amongst our most famous allies. Without the granaries of Tanjore, Trichinopoly would have been more often the scene of British defeats than of British victories. When our power became established, in the Rajahs of Tanjore we found friendly and

quiet neighbours, who cherished our trade, and protected our subjects. Half a century and more of peacefulness and prosperity slipt by. Then in 1855 Sevajee died. He left no male descendant, but his posterity feared nothing, for, he had left a daughter, on whom, according to Mahratta law as interpreted by Mahrattas, the dignity of the Raj should have descended. Suddenly, in 1856, down swooped the Madras Government on the little principality. The obligations of the past were forgotten. Territorial greed ruled the day. The raj was declared to be extinct.

Mr. H. Forbes, whose name is honourably known in our Presidency, was fortunately at this time the leading Civilian acting as Collector of the Tanjore District. Upon the death of Rajah Sevajee, he thus wrote to the Madras Government:—

" I have said above that the late Rajah, though without legitimate sons, left two daughters, of these, one born in 1827, was married in 1837 to Sukkaram Sahib, of the family of the Rajah of Kholapoor, and the other, born in 1846, is still an unmarried child; the older has for some years been a great invalid and suffers from an internal tumour, which is beyond surgical treatment and must cause her death at no very distant day.

The Rajah's death was so very sudden and unexpected, that, on the day of its occurrence, although I was several hours in the palace and in communication with the family and chief Officers of the Durbar, no allusion was made, all were apparently too much startled at the event that had occurred, and too much occupied by the present necessity of immediate preparation for the funeral to give attention to the more distant future.

On the following day, however, when the officers of the Durbar had met and had consulted with the members of the family, it was decided to urge the claims of the Rajah's younger daughter to succeed, and I was subsequently earnestly besought to submit the claim to the favorable notice of the Government.

There appears to be nothing repugnant to Hindu Law in the succession of a daughter to her father, nor are precedents wanting for a Mahratta Ranee reigning, in Chapters CCCX.,

CCCCXI., and CCCCXIX. of Colebrook's Digest of Hindu Law, I find the following rules :—

Pathausa—The effects of one who leaves no male issue go to his brother, &c., &c., &c. The expression of "no male issue" is explained by Mr. Colebrooke to mean leaving no male or female, the last terms being understood.

Vcishapata—Asshe (the daughter) becomes owner of her father's estate, although a kinsman be living, so likewise her son is acknowledged to be the heir of the estate left by his mother and maternal grandfather.

Narada—If there be no son, the daughter is heiress by parity of reason, for she keeps up the progeny, since a son and a daughter both continue the race of their father.

The same is contained in the Hindu Law Book, Smritichundrika Brahaspathy.

A daughter as well as a son is born limb from limb, nor while he lives, can another inherit the property of her father.

Narada—In the absence of a son, a daughter is the rightful heir, for they both are equally the progenitors of posterity.

Narada—A son and daughter are equally the progenitors of posterity and the same views are expressed in the Vignaswaria, Madhavia, Varadaragia and Menjookha, but, as this is a point on which the Government will obtain better opinions than mine, I will briefly advert to precedent.

Yukajee, the first Mahratta Rajah of Tanjore, had three sons, who each reigned in succession, the third son Tookjee had four sons and was succeeded by the third Bavah Sahib, as the eldest two were not born in wedlock. Bavah Sahib had no children, and, on his death, he was succeeded on the Musnud by his widow Soojau Sahib.

I am informed that similar succession took place at the latter end of the last century to the Musnud of Sattara and Kolapoor; but for this I have no record to refer to."

The letter from which we extract the above is a lengthy one. It is given in full in Mr. Hickey's book, and is valuable as re-

presenting the opinion of a civilian who knew more of Tanjore than any man in India of his time. The letter produced some discussion in the Council of the Madras Government, but the upshot of the whole matter was, that they advised the Directors of the East India Company to declare the Raj extinct, which was accordingly done.

On the 18th of October, 1856, Mr. Forbes thus addressed the Madras Government:—

'I have the honor to report to you my arrival at Tanjore on the 13th instant. On the 15th I requested the members of the Durbar, and the three nephews of His Highness the late Rajah as the male representatives of the family, to meet me at the Residency, when, in accordance with the instructions contained in the 13th paragraph of the extract from the minutes of consultation of the 25th ultimo, No. 311, I communicated to them generally the purport of the orders of the Government of India, announced to them the decision of the Home Authorities regarding the Raj of Tanjore, informing them at the same time that liberality and consideration would be shown to the family and retainers, and putting them in possession of the general principles on which claims to stipends and gratuities would be disposed of, but without pledging the Government to any particular mode of dealing with individual cases.'

'Prior information had evidently reached the Durbar of the extinction of the Raj, but they appear to have clung to the hope, that a succession might still be possible, until the official announcement made to them by me, showed that that hope was vain. Much sorrow was expressed, and much grief was shown, but all at once submitted to the authority of Government and placed themselves into my hands.'

'I took no further steps to make the announcement public, but it had become so in great measure from the fact of my arrival and the news communicated to the Durbar soon spread throughout the palace. No demonstration of the public feeling was made and I had no reason to require any aid to the ordinary Police of the town.' The language of this letter, though simply official

is surely touching enough. A dynasty had passed away like a breath of air. "Much grief was shown"—a helpless, bewildered grief. The peaceful people felt they were weak in the hands of a great power. As a lamb in the hands of the shearer, they met their doom in silence.

Since 1856 the old principality of Tanjore has formed one of the quietest of our districts. The natural fertility of the land has maintained and increased the wealth-producing power of the province. Its inhabitants have remained as loyal as ever although the memory of our hasty actions and ingratitude has not been effaced. And what is now the case? The Mahratta family remains, in a measure, as a body of prisoners. We recognize officially the title of "Princess" to the wife of Sukkaram Sahib, but the poor lady is virtually shut out from the world. But more of this hereafter. We may, however, in the first place, mention a fact or two. There have been law-suits and open expressions of discontent since 1856. But none of these have *immediately* affected the question,—"Was the Raj improperly confiscated." The Queen Dowager's property was, it is true, the subject of serious English legislation. Mr. John Bruce Norton, and the leaders of the London Bar, were successful in arresting a gigantic scheme of local spoliation, and the Mahratta family of Tanjore are still wealthy to a moderate extent. But only *mediately*, and in an indirect manner, has the justice of our seizure of the Raj been attacked. But when attacked, it has been attacked most severely, by men of whose probity, learning, and legal experience, there can be no question. Now for the first time since 1856 comes forward in public something like a plea for the restitution of the old dynasty.

Mr. Hickey's book, viewed in this light, is a very significant and important one. The drift of it cannot be mistaken. We should not be surprised if it led to the question of the extinction of the Tanjore Raj being laid before the British public and the Privy Council. And it must be remembered that, ere now, appeals of a somewhat similar kind, though as long delayed, have been successful. Not to go out of our own Presidency, we may

recall to the recollection of our readers the cases of the Mysore Reversion and the Princedom of the Carnatic.

However, let this point rest for the present. Tanjore is one of our districts now, and the Raj is extinct. How have we kept faith with the deposed family? In the matter of the restoration of the Raj, we may use guarded language. The legal aspect of this question must be decided by legel men. But in the latter case, we have plain facts before us. A knowledge of law is not needed to tell a man how the princess and members of a fallen dynasty should be treated. It is a question of politics, and we are quite competent to take it up. We consider, in a word, the treatment of the Mahratta family of Tanjore has been scandalous, a shame to our Government, and a blot on our civilization. In 1855, when the Madras Government wrote to the Directors of the East India Company, they said :—

" Although we cannot advise the continuance of the Raj, we would recommend that the family be treated with liberality and consideration."

To this, on the 16th April 1863, the Directors replied :—

" It only remains to express our cordial approbation of the intention you express of treating the widows, daughters, and dependants, of the late Rajah with kindness and liberality. We shall doubtless receive at an early period from you as from the Madras Government a report of the arrangements made for carrying this intention into effect."

Now let us ask the Madras Government if the spirit of these extracts has been acted up to? What is the " consideration" which has been shown to the deposed Princess of Tanjore? Is she really treated as a *Princess?* Are any outward marks of honor shown to her? Can she leave her palace with dignity? Why are the honours conferred upon the petty Rajahs of Poodoocotta and Cochin withheld from her? The whole Mahratta family of Tanjore is ignored? True they have the honor of their residence being styled a palace, but in effect it is a prison. The inmates are guarded from intercourse with the outer world

in an utterly illegal fashion. It is true they have a Political Agent, but, in the regime of Mr. Cadell, he was simply a jailor. A recent scandal in Tanjore would not have occurred as we said at the time, if the Political agent and the descendants of Surfojee were on familiar and friendly terms. When such a man as the Rajah of Poodoocotta, who, in the days of Surfogee, was a mere dependent, leaves his territory, he is honoured with salutes and what not. The late Dewan of another, though greater, native prince has been honoured by titles conferred by Her Majesty. But the Princess of Tanjore, acknowledged by our Government to be a princess, and another native lady acknowledged by us to be a Queen Dowager, are ignored in the most marked manner. No man can rise from a careful perusal of Mr. Hickey's book without feeling convinced that the British Government have failed in adhering to their promises with reference to the Mahratta family of Tanjore. But it is not yet too late to mend. We feel assured a storm is brewing in Tanjore, and that the only way the Government can avert it is showing some of that "consideration" they promised, to the Princess of Tanjore.—*Athenæum and Daily News.*

We have lately received for review a small quarto volume entitled, "The Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern India." The writer is Mr. Hickey, a Pleader in the Madras Presidency, and his object is to awaken the sympathies of the English and Native public in the cause and condition of the present princess of Tanjore; and to use his own words he "feels grieved to think that up to this date not a single pen has advocated the long neglected cause of the Principality of Tanjore. She is like a violet existing in seclusion and sorrowing in secrecy." Before expressing our opinions on the book, it may be well to mention that Tanjore, formerly a Principality but now only recognised as a Collectorate under the British Government, lies on the Sea Coast line of the Carnatic. The province was conquered from the Hindu Rajahs by Yekojee, uncle of the great Sevajee, and ruled over by his posterity. Tribute was at times exacted from these rulers by the Nabob of the Carnatic, and the British were ap-

plied to for Military aid to enforce payment. The Government feeling that the Rajah of Tanjore from his position in the country, was a constant source of danger, took the opportunity while enforcing the Nawab's claim entirely to reduce him. He was subsequently restored by order of the Court of Directors and a treaty made by which he was to receive English troops for the protection of the country and pay tribute to the English Government. The last Rajah, named Seevajee, died in 1855, leaving no male heirs, direct or collateral, and the titular dignity was then declared to be extinct, and the province of Tanjore to have passed into the hands of the British by right of lapse. The Rajah, however, left a widow and two daughters, who were pensioned by the Government, but were not recognised as having any claim to the throne. One of the daughters still lives, and is about twenty-five years of age, and it is on behalf of her regal rights that the book in question is written. She is described by the author as being "a young woman, possessing every personal charm, reflecting in an eminent degree the noble mind and deportment of her grandfather Surfojee. She is healthy, intelligent, and educated." Mr. Hickey's book is divided into six Chapters. The first contains a description of Tanjore, its productions, arts and professions; Mr. Hickey's many years' practice as a Pleader in the Southern Districts of India, has, as he states in the preface to his book, given him numerous opportunities of obtaining information regarding the nature and customs of the country, which opportunities a perusal of this and the following Chapters will show, have not been thrown away. There are descriptions of the manufactures of the place, of the irrigation of the country, and also of the anicut across the river Cauvery, which are both entertaining to read and useful as information. The second Chapter may be called a brief history of Tanjore from the year 216 A. D., the earliest date at which a register of its existence can be discovered. The writer follows the occupation of Tanjore by the Cholen dynasty up to the time of its being conquered by Yekojee. The Chapter closes with an interesting account of the system of administration of a native Government and the mode of working its different

departments, including the duties of the British representative. The third Chapter continues the history of Tanjore under the Mahratta dynasty. The fourth is an account of the rise of Christianity in Tanjore and the labours of Frederick Swartz, for many years a Missionary in that district. The fifth is a short Chapter giving a history of the rise of British power in Tanjore up to the death of Sevajee in 1855. Although there is nothing in these five Chapters regarding the present Princess of Tanjore, the strain adopted is one of praise of the management of the Province, under its native rulers, and is calculated to draw the readers' sympathies over to the side of the writer. Also at the end of the second chapter the writer quotes :—" While admitting the principle of effecting progressive but gradual improvement—for progress to be permanent must be gradual—we conscientiously believe that it is of all things most necessary that the existing relation of the native states with the paramount power should continue, as it is, without interruption, for it is by virtue of the connection as it now exists that the Hindoo princes will appreciate more and more the social, moral, and political benefits which they derive by an alliance with the representative in Asia of European civilization, and that they will be kept in constant remembrance of the duties and responsibilities with which it has pleased the great dispenser of events to entrust them." In another place, likewise, referring to the death of Sevajee, he says :—" With him the independence of the Tanjore Mahratta dynasty was forced to terminate in A. D. 1857, by the ruthless hand of annexation." In the sixth and concluding Chapter the writer makes a terrible onslaught on the Government, denouncing the annexation of Tanjore as a political atrocity, quoting the speeches of M. P.'s against it, and giving extracts of several of the treaties between the East India Company and the Rajahs of Tanjore. The whole ends in an appeal to Lord Hobart, Lord Northbrook, and His Grace the Duke of Argyll as to whether the dictum " by no law or usage, however, has the daughter of a Hindu Rajah any right of succession to the Raj," has any foundation to stand upon. Without expressing any opinion as to the rights of the present princess, we must say we do not think the writer's argu-

ments are very convincing, and the view taken of the question is decidedly a one-sided one. The annexation of Tanjore was an insignificant affair beside that of Nagpore or Sattara, and was never hesitated about at the time, and the author's hopes of arousing the sympathies of the public on the subject, are, we fear, not likely to be fulfilled. The book, however, has other points of interest about it, and at the beginning is a Map of India with an explanatory one of the province of Tanjore, and at the end are a number of official letters and documents both of which are useful to the reader for reference.—*Indian Statesman.*

We owe an apology to Mr. Hickey for not noticing his work earlier. Mr. Hickey is a pleader of the Madras Presidency, and his professional visits to the Southern Districts of that Presidency gave him frequent opportunities which he has turned to good account by the production of the work under notice. India is a large field for research and investigation, and very many of our native pleaders frequent the Mofussil in their professional capacity; but how many of them utilize their opportunities, as Mr. Hickey has done, for the good of their country? Mr. Hickey has set a good example to his native brethren. Although our author could only spare three months for the compilation of the work, we think he has produced a very readable book. He very modestly calls his work a Pamphlet, though it is a well bound, neatly got up, goodly volume of 300 pages. Mr. Hickey has done ample justice to his subject, considering the short time he has been at it. The book is dedicated to the Native Princes of India for whom our author feels a hearty sympathy. A colored map is prefixed to the book with directions to distinguish the Mahratta states from other native territories; but they are not accurately followed in the map. For instance, while the extinct Mahratta states of Nagpore and Sattara are distinguished by brown colour, Nepal, Kutch, and Travancore, which, of course, are not Mahratta states, have also the same colour, while the living Mahratta states of Gaikawad, Holkar, and Scindia, are not marked at all. The work is divided into six chapters with a copious appendix at the end. He first describes Tanjore, its productions, arts, and professions. We must

once for all observe here that our author has made several digressions throughout the book, though they are more or less interesting. In the first chapter for example is a mythological account of the river *Cavery* which is to the provinces of Tanjore very much what the "Nile is to Egypt or the Sindhis (Indus) to young Egypt." An account of the celebrated royal astronomer Jayasing of Jayapore concludes this portion. The second chapter briefly notices the early history of Tanjore down to the rise of the Mahratta power, and closes with a survey of the system of administration of Native Governments and the mode of working its different departments. The picture is not on the whole unfavorable to the much abused native states. We lately took occasion to observe in these columns that the native states were gradually improving, and their rulers being slowly awakened to a sense of their responsible position under altered circumstances. Although the native states have much to learn from the British Government, the latter will also find something worth borrowing from the former. Under the native states "the poor and the infirm, the lame and the blind, obtain full subsistence, from the State alms-houses, and the widows and orphans of respectable but destitute families are provided with the means of living from the public treasury. The defaulting ryot is not dealt with so unceremoniously as under the British laws, nor is he at once ousted from his field as in the British provinces under the permanent settlement." Those who wish to effect progress and improvement in the native states with a high hand and at a railway speed, will do well to study the following:—

"Whilst admitting the principle of effecting progressive but gradual improvements in the system of native administration—for progress to be permanent must be gradual—we conscientiously believe that it is of all things most necessary that the existing relation of the native states with the paramount power should continue, as it is, without interruption, for it is by virtue of the connection as it now exists, that the Hindu princes will appreciate more and more the social, moral, and political benefits which they derive by an alliance with the representative in Asia of European civilization, and that they will be kept in constant re-

membrance of the duties and responsibilities with which it has pleased the great Dispenser of events to entrust them."

The next chapter treats of the conquest of Tanjore by the Marathas and of the conquerors. Venkajee, the half brother of the Founder of the Mahratta Empire, was the first Mahratta prince of Tanjore. He was succeeded by eleven rulers, some of whom were very remarkable personages, but our author summarily dismisses them in two pages. Of Surfojee, "one of the best of the Mahratta rulers of Tanjore" about whom the reader feels strong curiosity to know a great deal, there is only this much in this Chapter that he reigned 35 years. His curiosity is, however, gratified in the next Chapter on protection and patronage of Christianity with which that prince was very intimately connected. It is worthy of remark that the princes of Tanjore have always been distinguished for their protection of Christianity, a religion which neither they nor their subjects professed. The early Christian Missionaries of the South had hit upon a policy to gain converts, a description of which we cannot resist the temptation of laying before our readers who, we are sure, wil read it with a lively interest. Says our author:—They (Christian Missionaries) had studied, and they understood the native languages; they made themselves familiar with, and were ready to adopt the habits and customs of the natives. They called themselves *Western Brahmins*, and in the disguise of Brahmins, they mixed themselves with the people; talking their language, following their customs, and countenancing their superstitions. Clothed in the sacerdotal yellow cloth, with the mark of sandal wood on their foreheads, their long hair streaming down their backs, their copper vessels in their hands; their wooden sandals on their feet, these new Brahmins found acceptance among the people, and were welcomed by the Princes of Southern India. They performed their ablutions with scrupulous regularity, they ate no animal food, they drank no intoxicating liquors, but found in the simple fare of vegetables and milk, at once a disguise and a protection against their doubtful course of action. The Christians had appeared among the highest castes of India eating and drinking, gluttonous and wine bibbers, and they had paid

the penalty of an addition to these feverish stimulants under the burning copper skies of the east."

The name of the venerable missionary Swartz is a household word in Tanjore. Rajah Tooljajee looked upon him as his father, and consulted him in all matters; and when on the point of death, he left his adopted son Surfojee to the care of this much-esteemed Missionary addressing him "this is not my son, but yours; into your hands I deliver him." And it is with pleasure we record that the Christian Missionary Swartz proved indeed a father to Surfojee. He procured the liberation of his royal ward and the widows of the late Rajah from the cruel confinement of his persecuting uncle, fought for his succession to the *gadi* in opposition to that of his uncle, and after ten long years, succeeded in his noble efforts, though our only regret is that he died a little before the glad news reached the Indian shores. But if the Christian guardian did much for his heathen ward, the latter was not slow to appreciate and acknowledge the obligations with a grateful heart. We may ransack the pages of history in vain to find a nobler instance of gratitude. Surfojee, "not merely in *words*, but *in very deed* showed his respectful affection and fervent gratitude to the honoured Missionary, *at all times in all seasons.*" When Father Swartz was "gathered to his fathers," the dutiful Surfojee knew no bounds to his grief and lamentation. "*He shed a flood of tears over his body and covered it with a gold cloth.*" "Those alone can understand the *self-denial* of this royal personage, and appreciate this *noble deed* who have lived and moved among the Hindus, and have seen the dire effects of the demon of caste. *To be in the vicinity of the dead is pollution; to remain in the house where a corpse lies, is the essence of pollution; but to bow down and touch the dead, is the intensity of pollution and defilement;* yet did this prince, moved by gratitude and love, brave the indignation, (secret and concealed indeed but strong notwithstanding,) which the majority of his subjects, servants, and dependants, must have felt when they behold the humiliating spectacle of their sovereign, and their ruler, shedding tears over the corpse of the despised Christian, and covering it with a precious and valuable cloth."

But this was not all. The grateful and loving " heathen" raised a splendid monument over the remains of his Christian "father," friend, and benefactor, and composed an epitaph to his revered memory. He highly respected the order to which his benefactor belonged. He sympathized with and protected the professors of his religion. He established a charitable institution for the education and support of the poor, helpless children of his persuasion. He clothed and fed the Christian blind and the Christian lame as his benefactor was a Christian. And yet some professedly Christian papers must persist in maintaining that the natives of India know not gratitude?

The concluding chapter is the most important. The author therein most satisfactorily shows the injustice of the fiat annexing the Raj of Tanjore to British territory and most eloquently pleads the cause of the present Princess of Tanjore which is the principal object for which the author has written the present work. One argument brought forward in favour of annexing the native states is that they are mismanaged and misgoverned. But it does not hold good in the case of Tanjore. That State has always been distinguished for the just and beneficent rule of its enlightened princes who have ever been the steadfast friends and allies of the British Government. When the mighty contest lay in the Carnatic between the English and the French for the sovereignty of India, the Princes of Tanjore turned the scales in favour of the former by their troops and resources. They depended upon the faith and honor of the British Government. They were not only friendly to it, but were patrons of Christianity. Yet with all this the British Government has on the flimsiest pretexts annexed their little principality to its vast territory. Instances are not wanted in Hindu history of females succeeding to the throne. The present Princess of Tanjore has therefore every right to the succession of Tanjore. She has appealed for her rights to the Queen of England and Empress of India, and our author on her behalf appeals to the honour and just sense of the British public. We earnestly hope that his appeal may obtain a hearing. *Fait justitia ut ruat caelum.—Native Opinion.*

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of an interesting work entitled "The Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern India, the land of the Chola, the Eden of the South." The author is "a pleader practising for several years in the Southern Districts of India," and he "was enabled to get acquainted with the nobility, the Zemindars, and Poligars of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, South Arcot, Madura, Tinnevelly and of the plateau of Mysore." He has seen the principality of Tanjore "under the rule of its late deceased Prince Maha Rajah Seevajee, and have also heard of its glory under the sway of the great Surfojee. The condition of the members of this royal house while wearing the purple of power, and now when diverted of it, is remarkably striking and impresses the traveller with sadness at the memory of the departed greatness. With these impressions I have been induced to write this pamphlet as a manual both for the guidance of the ruling power as well as for the use and benefit of the surviving members of the house of the deceased Maha Rajah Seevajee."—*Bengalee.*

In the small work on the Tanjore State recently published by Foster and Co. of Madras, the author strives to claim a high caste lineage for the Princess of that remote Marathi Raj. To this view a political officer of considerable experience in this presidency takes exception: we print the following extract from his note which will be of interest to students of history :—

It is indeed allowed by the Seesodia House of Oodeypur that Sujunsi, son of Ajeysi, left Mewar, at the end of the 13th century A. D.; and that Seevajee sprung from him. But because the ancestor was a Seesodia it does not follow that the descendants must necessarily be Seesodias or Rajputs; if this were admitted then all the Koli Thakurras would be admitted to be Rajputs sprung as they are from undoubted Rajput stocks. The descendants of Sujunsee intermarried with the Mahrattas whether Aheers Kolis or whatever they choose to call themselves, and thus were degraded in the social scale. No Rajput would intermarry with them as they would do were they of Rajput race. As to Sessoday and Lutchman Pal I can only say they are mythical. If the Emperor of Delhi is meant for a Mahomedan

I may point out that the first Mahomedan Emperor of Delhi was Kutbuddin Eibuck, whose date is 1205 A. D., whereas the Sessoda house were planted in Mewar in about the eight century of the Christian era. If he means the Tuar Rajputs who reigned at Delhi he should say so, but it is not clear that they were Emperors. The only Hindoo to whom this letter is fairly ascribable is the celebrated Putheeraj Chohan who united the crowns of Delhi and Sambur and was slain after the disastrous defeat of the Hindoo Rajah's on the banks of the Sarasvati by Mahomud Ghori in A. D. 1193. Now for the Bhonslays, the annals of the house of Oodeypur show that the Bhonslays were sprung from Bunbeer, a bastard of their house, and as before mentioned the Bhonslays lost caste by intermarriages with Mahrattas. As to the nonsense about the tribe called Chadan see p. 161, who lived in continual warfare, etc., who succumbed, etc. at the time of the invasion of Mahommed Ghuzneevee when Delhi was taken possession of, etc. This is really too bad. The only Chohan who sat on the throne of Delhi was Prutheeraj. Previous to him the Tuar race ruled there. Prutheeraj's date I have given and also Kutbuddin Eibuck. Mahommed Ghuzneevee reigned from 997 to 1028. I am not aware either of Kutch having ever been ruled by any of the branches of the Surzavansi family............*Times of India.*

Civilized countries are fertile in literary productions. Our mother-land India is not barren though she has eminent writings to boast of from the remotest period of time.

At the present day, the majority of Indian works have been imitative. Does the fault lie in the sons of India? If not, where shall we look for the cause of the imitative tendency of our present writers. Certainly in the progressed state of things. The fields of science and art have been already travelled over too far to leave anything original for India to take up. But the province of her peculiar grievances to be redressed, and of rights and privileges to be claimed, is left for ourselves. Much of this province has yet to be gone through to secure the end in view. Mr. Hickey is one of the authors who have directed their literary

efforts in the cause of India. He has taken up the history of Tanjore which he calls the Eden of the South. His own production extends over the first half of the book, while the other half of it is occupied by treaties, despatches, etc., in the form of an appendix. The author divides the original portion of his work into six chapters, the first of which he devotes to the description of Tanjore, including therein an account of its staple products, its native manufactures, arts, and profession, and its towns. The river Cauvery runs through the Tanjore kingdom. We are not inclined to trace the divine origin of the Cauvery Ammal. We shall rest satisfied with the geographical position of its rise which is traced to Bramhagiri. The water of the Cauvery has made the kingdom of Tanjore very fertile, but it is rendered a great deal more so by the engineering skill of Colonel A. T. Cotton. To the fertility of the land and its architectural monuments, one of which is considered to be the finest in India, by the best of judges. The Fort of Ginjee has its history from 1442, the time when it was built by the Governor of Tanjore to the time when it came into the possession of the British. The claimants of this Fort lead at present a secure life in the enjoyment of their Inams and with a full faith in the justice and generosity of the British, whereby they hope to get back their former possession. To hope so they must certainly be in dream-land! Presently we shall have more to speak upon this subject.

The second chapter treats of the two dynasties which reigned at Tanjore. Cholen was the dynasty which reigned first in point of time. This was one of the three dynasties by which Southern India was reigned over. The Pandian, Cholen, and Saren. The Pandian's neighbourhood was not safe. They took assistance of the Naiks to harass the Cholen family which could ill-brook it, and which had consequently to invoke the assistance of the Mahrattas. Ekoji, half-brother of Shivaji, gave the required assistance, drove the enemy from the town of Tanjore and took the reins of Government into his own hands with the consent of the Cholen family. But this Mr. Hickey tells us on the authority of the manuscripts found in the royal archives of Tanjore, Sattara and Kolapore. We must, however, depend upon this not being

Ekoji's usurpation so long as the manuscripts are not contradicted. The Naick principality was in the close vicinity of the Mahrattas. The dissensions between the two Naick Princes soon made their principality an easy prey to the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas' claim to the principality was undisputed. However, the author does not close the chapter here. He places before his readers a minute, and clear account of the administration of a Native Government. He has given a faithful description of the workings of different departments. He tells us what daily business a Native Rajah does. He spends more time in his morning ablutions and ceremonies than any Christian prince would ever think of. This he does for his spiritual concerns. Then he consults his physicians. Then follows consultation with the mover of the whole machinery of the state—the Prime Minister. The next officer is the Dewan or Minister of Finances. But while we are thus carried to the description of the Judicial Department of a Native Government, the author enters into the subject of British interference. He says the department is stuffed with the king's favorites from various walks of life. The institutes of Manu and the Mitakshara are totally disregarded. We admit with the author the rottenness of such a system, but we really do not understand how he proposes "a slight pressure from the paramount power towards the organization of a judicial service with training in the Hindu and Mahomedan laws." He fully knows "the solemn promises as contained in large sheets of parchment, bearing the seals of such illustrious personages as Lords Lake and Cornwallis." What right does he give to the British even to the interference of a middle course? Let those men who take interest in the welfare of India give this right to our rulers, and to their amazement they will find their idea of the interference of a middle course vastly differs from the idea of our rulers. The Residents and Political Agents will have their power immensely increased. The Rajah will always have to bow before them. Their words would be laws in the Rajah's territories. And who would be the authoritative referees of our Government on points of disagreements but the Political Agents nd Residents? The Holkars family has already seen the defects

in the whole system of the Government of its territory. The Gaikwar has commenced following in his footsteps. The other native princes and Rajahs will soon follow in their wake. Why does our author then want British interference? We would he was more cautious in forming opinions. Let him not be too philanthropic to overlook the rights and privileges of the Native princes, who are nothing less than allies of the British Government. From the Judicial Department the author proceeds to the Revenue Department under which fall assignments of Jaghirs, public works in different holy places in India, and grants for educational, religious and charitable purposes. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the high political duties and responsibilities falling upon Political Agents and others. He describes their conduct in bright colour and with fervour. But we would remind our author that while some are worthy of their posts and conscientious in the discharge of their responsible work and richly merit the praise hence due to them, there are others of the blackest dye who undo almost the whole of what their good predecessors have done—break the harmonious feelings between the two Governments, are never wanting in argument to fill up their correspondence to the high British authorities to advise changes in their policy.

We now turn to the third chapter. The author does not confine himself to the Mahrattas of the Tanjore line, but also unnecessarily traces the Mahrattas descended from Shevajee until they split their territory into the two kingdoms of Kolapore and Sattara with the Varna and Krishna as their defined boundaries. The Tanjore line begins with Venkaji and ends with Mah Rajah Shivajee, with whose death terminates the independent kingdom of Tanjore—not by an incursion and conquest by the neighbouring power, nor by the total extinction of the reigning family, but by that "ruthless hand of annexation." The next chapter has been judiciously made to contain an account of the introduction of Christianity into India and its toleration at Tanjore. A story is frequently told on this side of India that the missionaries here often pick up a man or two from the lowest communities, and while teaching him the religion of the

Gospel they promise to improve his prospects in the world if he embraced christianity. The man is possibly unsupported and harmless. He is dazzled by the prospects and pretends to believe in the religion preached to him. The missionary hopes to get for himself the credit of adding to the number of converts made by himself. He takes the man with him in a carriage to his friends! The two take their meals together. The candidate for Christianity has a clean dress. A day is appointed for baptising him. A few days after the new Christian is seen engaged in the menial household work of the missionary. The Hindoo friends of the missionary are surprised at the entire absence of that man from his Bungalow. An accident carries them to the missionary's stables. He is found assisting the groom and weeping over the lot which is soon to fall upon him—that of being turned out soon unless he looks out for himself. He is debarred entrance into his own community, while his presence becomes hateful to the missionary. We carefully read the chapter and found nothing of the sort. Bishop Heber is all kindness and Mr. Swartz shines with all his noble feeling. The interest he took in the welfare of Surfojee is however decidedly exemplary. He was even after his demise justly an object of respect and veneration to the prince. The epitaph in Mr. Swartz's grave is touching enough. It was this Missionary who gave the Prince a taste for English literature. The Prince had a splendid library which was seen with pleasure by every missionary who visited Tanjore.

The last two chapters bring us to the spread of the British power and the treatment of Surfojee's family by the East India Company. The history has its interest. In 1762 the English interfered without cause and prevailed upon the Rajah to give a fixed tribute of four lakhs to the Nabob of the Carnatic. In 1771 a clandestine treaty was formed between the Nabob and the Rajah. The Madras Government disapproved of it. The Rajah failed to act according to the treaty. This was taken up as an excuse to threaten the Rajah into giving up a certain district. It must be mentioned here to the credit of the Court of Directors, that they directed the restoration of the Rajah, who was deposed

in 1773. However, the Rajah got his kingdom back on condition of making a grant of certain villages and paying to the English troops four lakhs of Rupees for the protection of his country. The British Government later on in 1799 took an undue advantage of the inexperience of the young prince Surfojee by pressing him into a treaty, which transferred the administration of the Tanjore kingdom to the British Government giving him a pension of one lakh of Pagodas and one-fifth of the net-revenue. The Raja's authority was limited to the Fort of Tanjore—that too subject to the control of the British Government. What a usurpation of power! In 1832 Surfojee was succeeded by Shivaji whose death in 1855 without a direct male heir, was taken up as a very convenient opportunity of amalgamating the Kingdom in 1857. The Governor-General of India was Lord Dalhousie then. The Court of Directors favored his proceedings notwithstanding the claims of the late Rajah's living daughter, notwithstanding a host of authorities and instances in favour of female succession. The Court consisted of traders whose every act was guided by an avaricious motive, who would make no distinction between the personal and public property of the Raja so long as it was a matter of gain to them. They were blind to the interests of others. India was a place where they would do anything under the plea of an act of state; they would depose Rajah's, drive them, imprison them, and even cheat them provided the dividends swelled into large sums thereby. Napolean, whose wishes were laws, was never so inhumane and merciless in his conquest of Europe as the Court of Directors proved to be in such matters. There is no parallel in the whole history of the world to the conduct of the East India Company. The name of the East India Company will ever be in this respect an object of contempt to every native of India and to every just mind in England. We are no more the subjects of that Company. We are under the direct subjection of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen Victoria to whom we look with earnest hope for the undoing of what the East India Company has done under the name of the authority of State. To the Queen and her Government it is that we look to the acknowledgment of the

rights of Princes and Rajahs? Is not the British kingdom unwieldy enough? Is it not a general complaint of the Government that men who come from England and fill up high posts have some of them to devote day and night to work of an arduous and troublesome nature? We think therefore this would be the proper place of suggesting the return of the amalgamated kingdoms to their respective claimants. There would be a division of work. There will be satisfaction all through the kingdom and a shower of blessings will fall upon Her Majesty's benign rule. In such a state of things we hope to see the claim of Shevajee's daughter recognized. But is it a dream-land that we are thinking of? It looks like one, but we have still hopes.

Mr. Hickey has certainly made a good choice in dedicating the book to the Native Princes of India. He has certainly the cause of India's welfare at his heart; sometimes he is even over-zealous. If Shevajee's daughter gets back the kingdom of Tanjore against which, however sober thought shows us many odds, the whole credit of it will be due to our author. In writing the history of Tanjore, he has taken up the cause of the Native princes; let them therefore thank him.—*Hindoo Prakash.*

The remaining publications bearing on a variety of subjects, which could not be well classed under the heads already noticed, come under the group 'miscellaneous,' including all magazines, Educational and scientific journals and such other periodical publications, School Geographies, moral lessons for the young, pamphlets on educational questions, plates of the timber trees and ferns of Southern India, papers on Military matters, pisciculture, music and the like. The following, however, deserve special mention as works of scientific or antiquarian or general interest, viz., Dr. E. Balfour's Cyclopœdia of India and Gazetteer of Southern and Eastern Asia, the Bellary District Manual, the Tanjore Mahratta Principality, and Mr. Robertson's Lectures on 'Modern Agriculture and what modern Agriculture can do for the Indian Farmer.' —*Extract from the Report of the Registrar of Books for* 1873.*

* The above are the opinions of the press, I have been put in possession of; of others I am not aware; the English Periodicals are beyond the reach of my limited means; should any of my kind readers favor me with any that they have seen, they shall have my thanks.—*Author.*

LETTERS OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

St. Petersburgh, *13th February* 1874.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December last, and to inform you that in accordance with your request, I have laid the accompanying volume before H. R. H. The Duke of Edinburgh who desires me to say that he will have much pleasure in accepting the same and to thank you for your courtesy in sending it.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. Hickey, Esq. (Signed) N. J. COLVILL.

Commander-in-Chief's Office,
3rd February 1874.

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Duke of Cambridge to acknowledge the receipt of and thank you for the copy of your *interesting work* on the "Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern India."

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) J. MACDONALD.

India Office,
9th February 1874.

Sir,

I am desired by the Duke of Argyll to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December last, and to convey to you His Grace's thanks for the copy of your pamphlet on the

"Tanjore Mahratta Principality" which you have been so good as to send him.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) C. GREY.

W. Hickey, Esq.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA,
8th July 1873.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 16th ultimo, I am directed to acknowledge with thanks the Books which you have been good enough to send for his Excellency the Viceroy and myself

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

W. Hickey, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) E. BARING, CAPTAIN,
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
GUINDY PARK, *4th March.*

Dear Sir,

His Excellency the Governor desires me to express his thanks to you for "The Tanjore Mahratta Principality" of which H. E. has received a copy.

I am,

Truly yours,

(Signed) A. AUDRY,
Military Secretary.

4th July 1873.

My Dear Sir,

I am desired by His Excellency to accept with his best thanks the "Tanjore Principality" which you have sent him.

I take the occasion also of thanking you myself for your kind consideration in sending me likewise a copy. The books have only just arrived, but I look forward with pleasure to leisure time for reading them.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) W. Lee-Warner,
Private Secretary.

W. Hickey, Esq.

Guindy, *4th March.*

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged for the copy of "The Tanjore Mahratta Principality" which you have done me the honor to send me.

I am,
Truly yours,
(Signed) A. AUDRY.

Government House, *9th Jan.* 1874.

Dear Sir,

In acknowledging receipt of your note of this days date I am desired by Lord Napier of Magdala to return you his best thanks for the copy of your work on the Tanjore Mahratta Principality, you were good enough to send him, and which his Lordship has much pleasure in accepting.

*The subject is one of considerable interest, and will not fail to engage the attention of His Excellency with renewed thanks.**

Pray, believe me,
Yours very truly,
(Signed) H. C. MOORE, Lt.-Col.,
Private Secy. H. E. the Lord.

W. Hickey, Esq.

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* The italics throughout these letters, are the author's.

HYDERABAD DECCAN, *5th January* 1874.

To

W. HICKEY, ESQ., Pleader,

Round Tannah, Mount Road,

Madras.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your Pamphlet, on the "Tanjore Mahratta Principality." I feel much obliged for the attention you have so kindly shewn me.

I am, sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) SALURJUNG.

THE RESIDENCY HYDERABAD,

2nd January 1874.

To

W. HICKEY, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge with thanks the receipt this day of your brochure on the Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern India, a copy of which you have been good enough to send for my acceptance.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully and obliged,

(Signed) CHAR. B. SAUNDERS.

BISHOP'S PALACE,

CALCUTTA, *Sept.* 2, 1873.

My Dear Sir,

I am very much obliged to you for your copy of the "Tanjore Mahratta Principality" which you have been kind enough to send to me and which I shall much like to read. I found it awaiting my arrival from Burmah yesterday.

Believe me,

Very faithfully yours,

(Signed) EDGAR JACOB,

Chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta.

W. Hickey, Esq.

ADYAR, *5th March* 1873

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Bishop to thank you very much for the copy of your book on Tanjore, you have so kindly sent him, and I request you to accept my own grateful acknowledgments for the copy you have sent to me.

Yours very faithfully,
(Signed) ALEXANDER TAYLOR,
Bishop's Chaplain.

HOSHUNGABAD, *15th December* 1873.

My Dear Sir,

I am sorry that through some inadventure a copy of your brochure which you were good enough to send to the Metropolitan was not acknowledged with thanks before. I believe it reached the Bishop in the press of visitation work. So far the time was overlooked.

I am,
Very truly yours,
(Signed) EDGAR JACOB,
Chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta.

W. Hickey, Esq.

CLUB, *13th March* 1873.

W. HICKEY, ESQ.,
Madras.

Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of this date together with your work on "Tanjore Mahratta Principality" for which I must now thank you on the part of the members of the club by whom it will be much appreciated.

I am, Sir,
Faithfully yours,
(Signed) W. HAMILTON HOLMES,
Secretary.

FERN HILL, OOTACAMUND,
29th April 1874.

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge, on behalf of the Maharaja, of Mysore and myself, two copies of your book on the Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern India.

I shall take an early opportunity of reading *the book which is on a most interesting subject.* I must apologize for not having answered your letters before, but I have been temporarily absent.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed.) G. B. MALLESON,

Guardian to the Maharajah,

W. Hickey, Esq. *Mysore.*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

10th January 1874.

My dear Sir,

I have had the pleasure to receive your note, and beg to thank you for the copy of your work on "The Tanjore Mahratta Principality," which you have been so kind as to send me.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) J. M. DILLON.

To

W. Hickey, Esq.

Madras.

PALACE, TRIVANDRUM,

6th April 1874.

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that His Highness had the pleasure of receiving the book alluded to in your note of the 1st instant and has to express His Highness' best thanks for it.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) N. SUBA ROW,

Survadika Nair Palace.

To

Mr. William Hickey.

No. 175 of 1874.

To

W. HICKEY, Esq.,

Madras.

KOLHAPUR, 16*th April* 1874.

Sir,

I am instructed to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a book sent by you, entitled the "Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern India."

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) ————————

State Karbharee, Kolapur.

POODOOCOTTAH, 13*th January* 1874

Sir,

By order of His Excellency the Maharajah Saheb of Poodoocottah, I, one of his Excellency's officers, beg to write this to inform you, that his Excellency has received your letter to him of the 5th instant accompanied with a book on the "Tanjore Mahratta Principality," and His Excellency has also permitted me to offer his best thanks to you for your kindness in sending the book to him.

I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) VISVANATH SWAMY,

Secretary.

ROYAPETTAH,

MADRAS, 11*th January* 1874.

To

WILLIAM HICKEY, Esq.,

Pleader, and Author of the

Tanjore Mahratta Principality.

Sir,

I am directed by His Excellency Nazimaddowla Rustumjah Bahadur Nawab of Masulipatam to acknowledge the receipt of

your letter of the 8th instant and to convey to you His Excellency's sincere thanks for your *most interesting* Brochure on the Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern India which you have kindly sent to His Excellency the Nawab.

With grateful thanks,

Your friend and Servant,

(Signed) SYED ABDUR RAHIM,

Agent to His Excellency the Nawab of Masulipatam.

TRIPATY, 8*th April* 1874.

To

W. HICKEY, ESQ.,

Pleader, Madras Presidency,

Madras.

Most Respected Sir,

In acknowledging the receipt of your *most valuable book* on Tanjore and other native Principalities, I take much pleasure to offer you many many thanks for the honor you have done me by sending it.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) श्रीमहंत धर्मदास जी.

SREE MAHUNTH DURMA DOSSJEE,

High Priest of Tripaty.

HYDERABAD DECCAN, 3*rd January* 1874.

My Dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your kind letter of 29th December and for the handsome work on Tanjore which you have so kindly sent me. I am greatly obliged for the Pamphlet which I shall peruse with pleasure as soon as time permits.

With west wishes for a happy and prosperous new year to you.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) H. BOWEN.

W. Hickey, Esq., Madras.

TREVANDRUM, *7th April* 1874.

Sir,

I am much obliged to you for the copy of your Brochure on 'Tanjore' which I had the pleasure of receiving yesterday. * * * As a native of Tanjore *I cannot but feel deeply interested on anything that favourably concerns its former dynasty of rulers, and highly grateful to those who honestly assist towards removing that stain on the British name which has been caaused by the extinction of the Raj.*

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) A. SASHIAH SASTRI.

W. Hickey, Esq., Madras.

TEYNAMPETTA VILLA,
16th April 1874.

Dear Sir,

I am thankful to you for so kindly presenting me with your work, "The Tanjore Mahratta Principality." I have glanced over the whole work and read the principal portions. I am glad you have advocated the *cause of this old and ancient Hindu House, and I hope the Princess will yet get justice at the hands of the English authorities.*

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) G. N. GUJPUTHEE RAO.

TRANQUEBAR,
10th April 1873.

Sir,

I have to thank you for your polite attention in sending me a copy of your work on Tanjore, I *have no doubt it will be read with great interest.*

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) J. H. NELSON.

CAMP-PALMANAIR.
September 22, 1873.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the copy of your little work on the Tanjore Raj, *which I have perused with no little interest.* Many *of the facts put forth therein were new to me.* The book here and there shows signs of having been rather hastily compiled; but all that can be rectified in a late Edition; and in the meantime *I can congratulate you on having brought out a work containing a brief and comprehensive history of one of the most ancient noble families in Southern India.*

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) W. S. WHITESIDE.

18*th April* 1874.

Dear Sir,

Receive my many thanks for your work on the Tanjore Principality, which you so kindly sent me the other day. *The subject generally is one, I take considerable interest and I have no doubt the perusal of your book will afford me much pleasure.*

Yours truly,
(Signed) F. H. WOODROFFE, C. S.

To

W. Hickey, Esq.,
Cuddapah.

BOMBAY, 8*th March* 1873.

My Dear Sir,

Many many thanks for your kindness in sending me a copy of your new book on the affairs of the 'Tanjore Principality.' I received it yesterday. Since then I have read a large portion and find that you have fully treated the subject. The addition of the Map of India is a happy thought; it will enable the reader to

see the places thereon, about which he is reading, and much more so to the readers in England; where I hope you are resolved sending a large number of copies. Hoping you are doing well.

I am, yours truly,

(Signed) GOVIND GUNGADHAR.

VENCATAGHERRY PALACE, *9th August* 1874.

To

William Hickey, Esq.

My Dear Sir,

Yours of the 1st instant reached my hands, and in reply I beg to inform that a copy of your work on "Tanjore" has been duly received here, and that I have gone through some portion of it.

I beg to remain,

My Dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

RAJAH OF VENCATAGHERRY, C. S. I.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) WILLIAM HICKEY.

FINIS.